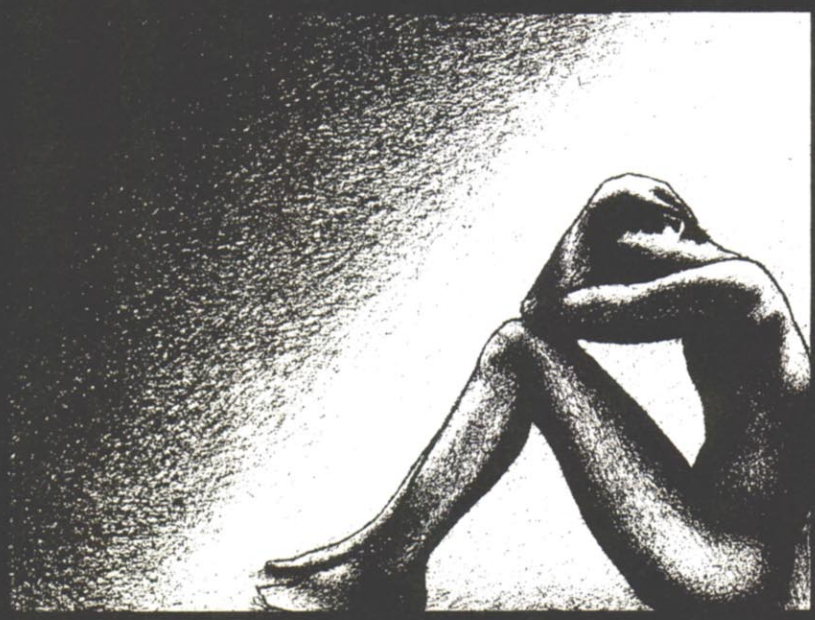
ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

FEBRUARY 1988 $2.95

INSIDE: 1988 ROSTER

CALIFORNIA Journal

THE POLITICS OF AIDS



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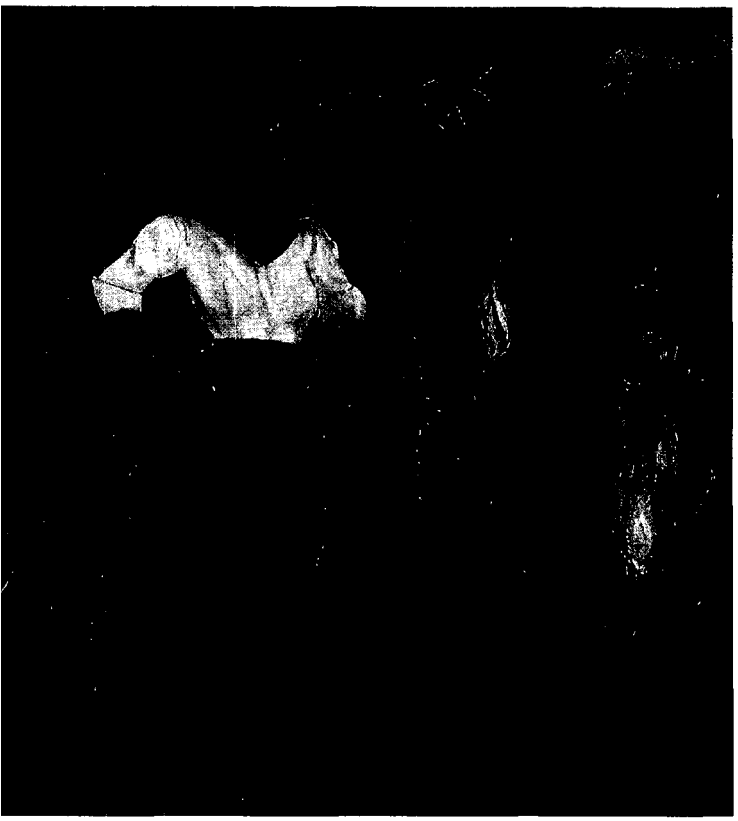

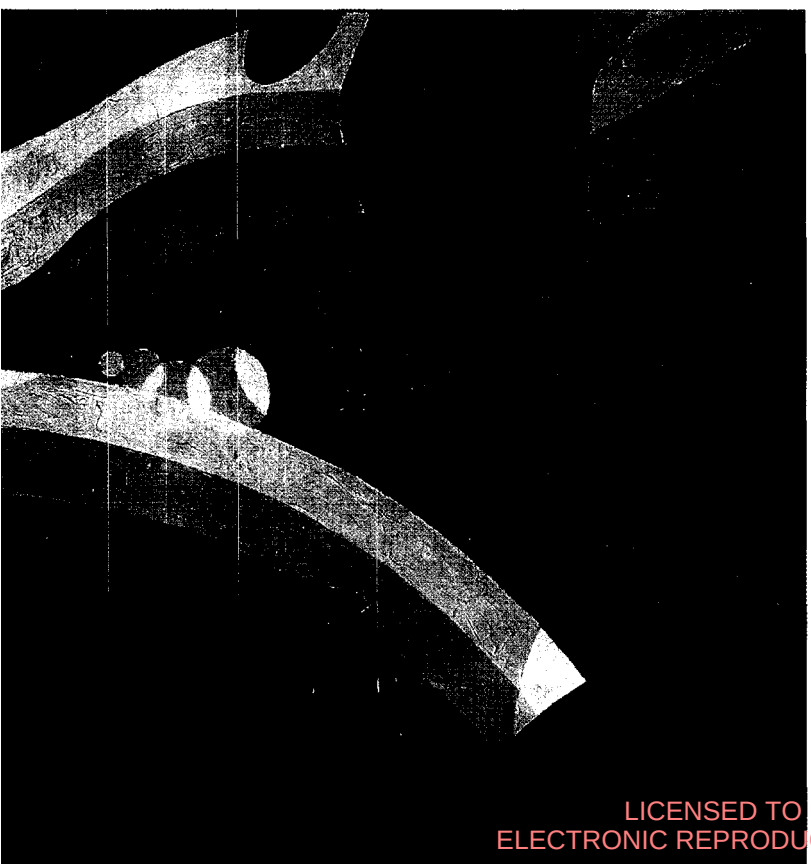

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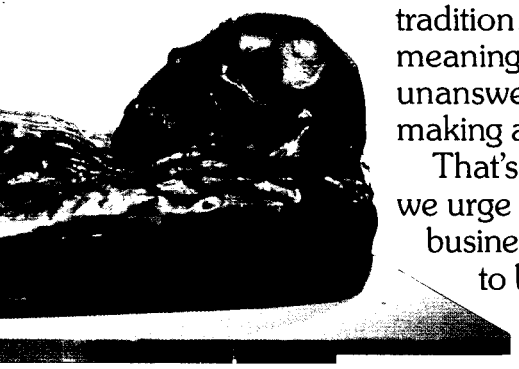
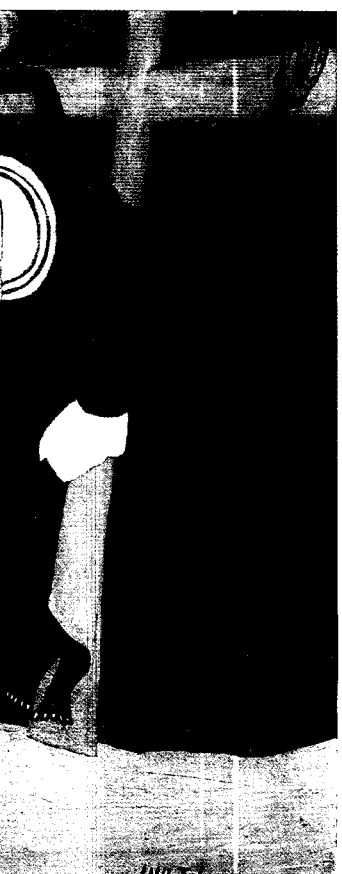
beginning.





You are looking at the works of pioneering black artists. They were born at a time that now seems remote—although the last of them died only a few years ago. It was a time when the world was young, and anything was possible. We call their time "The Jazz Age," and, in doing so, remind ourselves of the great black musicians of that era. Now we can remember, and honor, the great black artists of the time in a fascinating new exhibition titled "Harlem Renaissance: The Art of Black America."

In the Twenties, the black musicians had it made; the artists still had to make it. The musician was following an established jazz tradition while the artist had to create a new tradition. The question, "What, in *visual* terms, is the meaning of the black experience in America?" wasn't just unanswered—it hadn't even been asked. They were truly making a beginning.

That's one reason we sponsored this exhibition and why we urge you to see it at the museums listed below. In our business as in yours, we are sometimes forced not merely to be innovative within an established tradition (that's easy) but to create a wholly new tradition (that's hard). It is helpful to us, and we hope to you, to be reminded by artists like these that the job can be done—beautifully. We, too, can make a beginning.

"Harlem Renaissance: The Art of Black America," organized by the Studio Museum in Harlem, is on view at the Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, CA, January 16-March 6, 1988; Mary & Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, April 7-June 5, 1988; The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, GA, June 28-August 27, 1988; Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME, September 24-November 19, 1988; Laguna Gloria Art Museum, Austin, TX, December 10, 1988-February 5, 1989.

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(upper left) THE JOHN HENRY SERIES: THE DRESS SHE WORE WAS BLUE. Palmer Hayden, c. 1944-1954, oil on canvas, 36" x 29". Collection of The Museum of African American Art, Palmer C. Hayden Collection, Gift of Miriam A. Hayden. Photograph by Armando Solis. (upper right) THE TALKING SKULL, Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, 1939, bronze, 42" x 30" x 18". Collection of The Museum of Afro-American History. Photograph by Rudolph Robinson. (lower left) THE CREATION, Aaron Douglas, 1935, oil on masonite, 48" x 36". Collection of The Gallery of Art, Howard University. Photograph by The Center Gallery, Bucknell University. (lower right) MT. CALVARY. William H. Johnson c. 1939, oil on board, 27¾" x 33⅞". Photograph by Michael Fischer.

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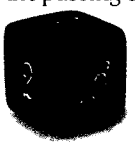
"Le jeu de Trictrac" by Cornelius de Vos zugeschrieben (1583-1651). Museum Adeville. Chinese terra-cotta figures of the Han dynasty, recently discovered in a second century tomb. Backgammon board of 1820, product of the China trade. Providence Preservation Society, Providence, Rhode Island.

Backgammon. Legend has it this game was invented to represent the passing of a year. The 24 points on the board were the hours in a day. Each game piece represented a day of the month. Dice were day and night. When it comes to creating and operating lottery games, GTECH is on time. No matter how big the market or how complex the network. Here in California, the network is programmed for weekly Lotto 6/49. And the gaming can expand easily into other daily, weekly or semi-weekly games. Whatever your game, GTECH is ready. Night and day.



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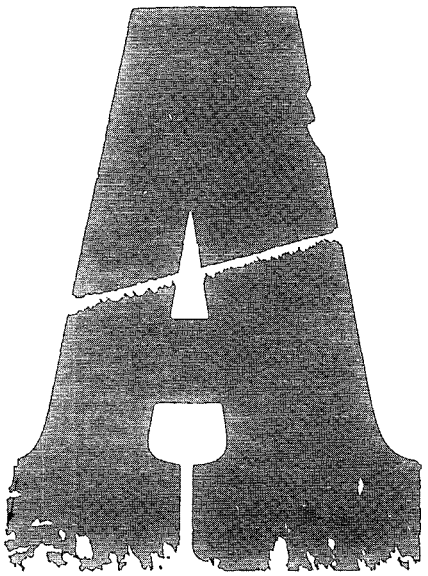
CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XIX, NUMBER 2 FEBRUARY 1988

The 1988 Roster and Government Guide

This issue contains *California Journal*'s most popular publication: the annual *Roster and Government Guide*. The 1988 edition has been completely updated to include all newly-appointed administration officials and legislative committee assignments, as well as useful Capitol telephone numbers and direct phone numbers for members of the California congressional delegation. The *Roster* is also available as a reprint.



AIDS 54

As a disease, AIDS has reached epidemic proportions. As a political issue, AIDS is fraught with problems that could prove both costly and divisive. By J.S. Taub

AIDS in prison 60

The California Department of Corrections has isolated AIDS-afflicted inmates at its medical facility in Vacaville, a practice some experts say creates a prison within a prison. By Marc Lifsher

The cost of Alzheimer's 83

Lost in the concern over the cost of treating AIDS victims is the fact that the most expensive disease to treat may afflict nearly a third of California's elderly. By Kathleen Beasley

Duke: the terminator 85

Governor Deukmejian has made good on a campaign promise to do away with "unnecessary" government regulators; some say at the expense of the state's environment, health and worker safety. By David M. Kutzmann, Teresa Watanabe and Arnold Hamilton

$44.3 billion 89

The governor and Legislature are once again engaged in the state's annual budget dance; this time the tune involves $44.3 billion in state spending. By Bob Schmidt

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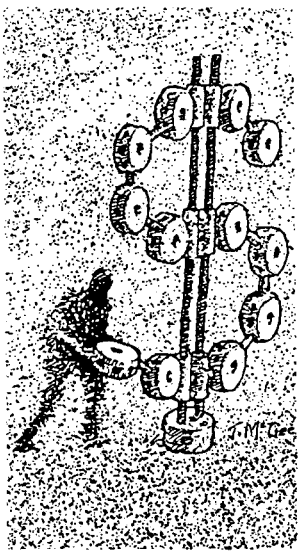

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Illustration by Roberta-Anne Kaminski

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UP FRONT

All right, class, it's time to name the one thing Governor George Deukmejian and Senator Alan Cranston have in common. They're both leaders of their respective parties in California.

Well, yes. But that's only part of the answer.

They both want to go to the presidential nominating conventions without the painful experience of having to choose up sides.

Deukmejian already has explored the idea of cutting a deal with the winner of the state's winner-take-all GOP primary -- whoever that turns out to be — so he can serve as delegation chairman. And now we learn that Cranston is a member of a very select group of Democrats who are exploring alternatives should none of the current crop of presidential contenders really catch on with Democratic voters during the grinding series of primaries.

Cranston insists he's not secretly committed to any current non-candidate — notably, New York Governor Mario Cuomo, Senators Bill Bradley of New Jersey and Sam Nunn of Georgia, all of whom have said they're not running but all of whom have shunned Shermanesque statements in the event of a convention draft.

"I like all of them," Cranston says of the current crop. But obviously he wouldn't be looking for an alternative if he thought the party could win with one of the struggling hopefuls. A semi-secret group, which has been meeting in the office of Florida Senator Bob Graham, simply is looking ahead to a deadlocked convention. And for what it's worth, Cranston, now the Democratic whip in the Senate, is the only westerner in the group, which is heavily weighted by southerners — a potential sign that Sam Nunn could emerge the favorite.

In the case of Cranston, a well-identified liberal, it appears to be a case of covering all the bases. He ran for president four years ago and got knocked out early. He now believes it's possible for a candidate to get the nomination without going through the costly and wearing primaries. Cranston insists, however, that he is not a compromise-candidate-in-waiting.

(Richard Bergholz, Los Angeles)

Do you know the way to San Jose? Not if you're the California Department of Tourism. The department placed a 28-page, full-color advertising booklet in the December 28, 1987, edition of *New Yorker* magazine. The ad, which cost $200,000, highlights each of the 12 "Californias" but omitted any reference to San Jose. The ad showed the location of such cities as Yreka, Redding, Leggett, Laytonville, Placerville, Oakhurst, Visalia, Bakersfield, Salinas, Barstow, El Centro, Temecula, Perris and San Clemente. But the closest thing to a nod toward San Jose was a blurb on wineries in the Santa Clara Valley.

The department did not intend to slight San Jose, says Tourism spokesman Warren Rashleigh. "The ad was merely a graphic element to show generally where visitors are going and not to mention every city," he explained. Besides, he added, San Jose is really part of the San Francisco Bay area, and the ad devotes two pages to that "California."

So much for the civic identity of California's fourth largest city.

Math Quiz. How much is 43 minus 5? If you're Willie Brown, it apparently equals 41. At least that's what the speaker must be telling himself after he decided to crack down on the "gang of five:" Assembly members Rusty Areias, Charles Calderon, Gary Condit, Gerry Eaves and Steve Peace. The speaker, during the second week of the legislative year, stripped three of the five — who are more conservative than the majority of the Democratic caucus and are united by their mutual love of capital nightlife — of committee chairmanships and juice-committee assignments because of somewhat hazy affronts to the caucus majority. The other two promptly fell upon their swords by moving to withdraw some bills from committee, a direct confrontation to Brown's committee system. Brown is only a month away from reaching a longevity record as speaker. But in the past, his tenure has been marked by his ability to accommodate every member of his caucus, rather than the desire to whip the recalcitrant ones into line. His need to discipline the five is a strong sign that he's slipping.

For want of a proofreader, this glass house is in a shambles. Last month, an "Up Front" item drew attention to some sloppily-written press releases sent out by Congressman Robert Dornan and Senator Pete Wilson. In the very next item, we wrote about "Japanese interred in prison camps during World War II." Actually, they were Americans of Japanese descent who were "interned." Then, we used the word "principle" when we meant "principal." Finally, we botched a simple job of addition. In an item on the appointment of Congressman Dan Lungren to succeed the late Jesse Unruh as state treasurer, we wrote that state Senator Ken Maddy is 53; Lungren, 41. By the time the 1994 election rolls around, we said, Maddy will be 60 and Lungren 46. No, Lungren didn't skip a year or two. He'll actually be 48 by November 1994.

To paraphrase Henry Wiggen, protagonist in Mark Harris' novel "Bang the Drum Slowly:" From now on, we rag nobody.

Speaking of missing what's under your nose. In last month's article that listed providers of election campaign software, we neglected to list the Campaign Finance System, a widely-used system to track campaign donations. It's made worse by the fact that the publisher of the software, Tom Karlsen, has been advertising in the *Journal* for years.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

"The Constitution gives every American the inalienable right to make a damn fool of himself."
— John Ciardi

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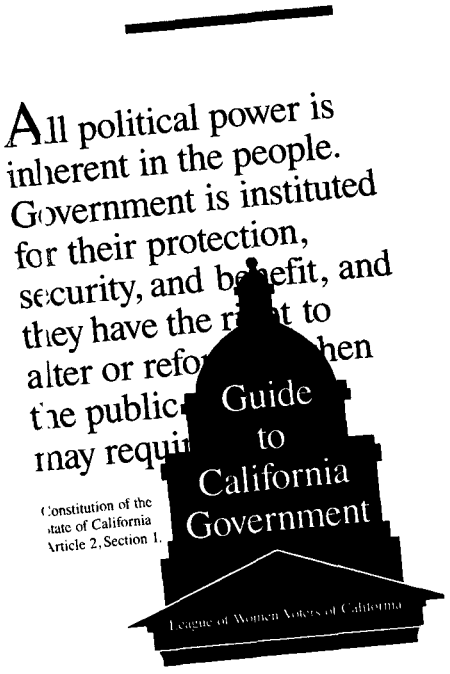
Books from California Journal



Guide to Government

League of Women Voters
13th quadrennial edition

A comprehensive guide to the structure and functions of government in California, the *Guide* contains sections on the Constitution, citizen participation, the three branches of government, the five state agencies and boards and commissions, education, local government and the budget. The 173-page book is hot off the press and contains information through 1985. **Special Discount:** the regular list price is $8.95 but *California Journal* readers may purchase the book for $7.95.

The New California — Facing the 21st Century *by Dan Walters* with an introduction *by Eugene C. Lee.* The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9,000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee.* The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series is now available in book form. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.

California's Legislature *by James Driscoll.* This is a 256-page comprehensive book on the state's Legislature with six chapters covering every aspect of the institution in detail. This latest edition has been completely revised to include data through the 1986 session. Other chapters cover the executive and judicial branches, constitutional history, election law, media, the capital building and numerous appendices with statistical data and information on the flags of California, seals, the governor's mansion and the origin of California place names. 1986, 6″ x 9″, 256 pages, paperbound, $3.95

The California Oath Controversy *by David P. Gardner.* The fascinating account of the 1949-1952 loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, "a nadir in the history of American academic freedom." Hard cover, 329 pages, 1967. List price: $16.50. New discount price: $4.95.

Index. A yearly index to the *California Journal* for fast and easy research. 1970-86. Turns your magazine into a state government reference library. $2.95 per year.

Reporting: An Inside View, *by Lou Cannon.* How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press during the post-Watergate era will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9″, 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

Cartoon History of California Politics, *by Ed Salzman* and *Ann Leigh Brown.* An entertaining history of the state as drawn by political cartoonists from Nast to Conrad. This handsomely-bound book contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full page. An ideal gift for yourself or a friend. 1978, 8 x 8″, 156 pages, paperback. New discount price: $3.95.

Almanac of California Government and Politics, 1987-88, fifth edition. Contains 192 photographs and biographies of the state's leaders, maps, historical information on all branches of state government, election statistics and population information, and much more. 5½ x 8½″, 200 pages. $8.95.

Guide to Government *by League of Women Voters.* This 13th quadrennial edition is a comprehensive guide to the structure and functions of government in California, containing sections on the Constitution, citizen participation, the three branches of government, the five state agencies and boards and commissions, education, local government and the budget. The 173-page book contains information through 1985. **Special Discount:** the regular list price is $8.95 but *California Journal* readers may purchase the book for $7.95.

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THE POLITICS OF AIDS

By J.S. Taub

As an illness, AIDS is terrible to behold, striking mostly young adults just before their most productive years, ravaging them physically and causing them to be shunned by the rest of society. For the medical community, AIDS is difficult to treat; there is no cure and enormous resources are required to provide comfort to the afflicted.

For the political community, too, AIDS has proven to be a difficult challege. It's a disease whose primary modes of transmission — homosexual sex and illegal drug use — carry negative overtones for most of the population. Furthermore, it's an illness whose control may depend on finding a new balance between two of society's most cherished values: the need to protect itself versus the desire to preserve individual liberty. That political context is proving to be a fertile field for politicians who believe there may be advantages to jumping in on one side or the other of the AIDS debate. Particularly loud are those on the extremes, whose vociferous debate threatens to silence more moderate voices.

Further complicating the political scene has been a vacuum of leadership within the Deukmejian administration on the issue of AIDS, leaving the field open to the state's legislators who are expected to consider a wide variety of AIDS-related legislation this year. Those who treat AIDS patients are fearful that the political issues will distract government officials from those things they can do to really have an effect on the spread of AIDS.

Issues surrounding the widespread mandatory blood testing for evidence of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), the cause of AIDS, threatens to divert energy, attention, and resources away from prevention, education and treatment programs for people with AIDS, critics say.

Controversy over blood testing of certain population "groups" — decisions of whom to test, who gets the results, what is done with the results, what happens to those who test positive and where the line gets drawn — moves AIDS out of the public-health spectrum and into the political spotlight.

Politicization of AIDS creates an uncertain climate for those with the disease and for "seropositive individuals" — those who have tested positive for the AIDS virus but are still healthy. It raises the blood pressure of California's public-health experts, who denounce mandatory testing as useless — a "quick fix," designed to exploit peoples' fear of AIDS.

That AIDS is political is reality. How AIDS issues get resolved determines whether or not California will continue to lead the nation in AIDS research, prevention and treatment.

Lawmakers and public-health officials are looking to the Deukmejian administration for guidance in their response to the AIDS epidemic, and they complain they are getting no feedback.

Critics allege the governor is emitting mixed signals about his commitment to confidentiality and anti-discrimination. They say despite the governor's apparent monetary largesse, Deukmejian's reactive AIDS policy has created a void, allowing legislatively-driven political agendas to dominate the proceedings.

Dr. Carl L. Smith, health officer of the Alameda County Health Agency, says, "We are looking for leadership. The state has viewed itself as a fiscal intermediary to manage grants and contracts, but it hasn't developed a comprehensive AIDS response plan. We need new ideas and new approaches." Smith says lack of a comprehensive strategy for

J.S. Taub is a freelance writer from San Francisco.

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preventing HIV transmission has made California "subject to inappropriate legislative action;" specifically, proposals for widespread mandatory blood testing.

The administration's track record on AIDS is double-edged. No doubt, with $70.2 million proposed for research, treatment, surveillance and education for fiscal 1988-89, California allocates more money to fight AIDS than any other state.

Among California's accomplishments are: a computerized AIDS registry; an AIDS Advisory Committee chaired by a gay Republican; universal blood-donor screening; establishment of the hugely successful alternative test-site program for voluntary, anonymous HIV testing; an AIDS vaccine research and development program complete with clinical trials; and a slate of pilot projects for hospice, home health and attendant care for people with AIDS.

The Department of Health Services (DHS) has also sought a Medicaid waiver allowing Medi-Cal to reimburse patients for these services. It is expected to be in place this Summer. Medi-Cal outlays alone will hit $40 million in fiscal 1988-89.

Yet, closer readings of Deukmejian's concern over AIDS reveal a governor ambivalent about AIDS, who declines to take a pro-active role on a difficult policy issue. He has, as much as possible, avoided the moral debate over AIDS. His unwillingess to stake out a position has created a mixed message for those on either side of the debate and has occasionally undermined the efforts of his own health advisors. When pushed, Deukmejian has generally sided with conservatives, refusing to grant anti-discrimination protections to those afflicted with the disease.

Missing from the governor's approach, observers say, is a clear statement of his philosophy. While Dr. Kenneth Kizer, executive director at the DHS, has expressed personal opposition to mandatory blood testing and emphasizes the importance of confidentiality and anti-discrimination, he refuses to speak directly for the administration on these issues. This sends a confusing signal to policymakers.

"It's real quiet up there," says Democratic state Senator Gary Hart of Santa Barbara, who chairs the Senate Select Committee on AIDS. He suggests that Deukmejian is caught between his conservative base of support and his own public-health experts. "This is a profile in uncourage. The governor doesn't want to alienate the right wing constituency that believe discussions of sex are immoral. AIDS is a disease that doesn't affect his constituency, so why go to bat if there's a political price to pay," Hart points out.

But whom AIDS affects or ignores may be just a matter of time. California has the second largest AIDS caseload in the country, accounting for 25 percent of all reported cases nationwide. As of June 1987, the Department of Health Services reported 8669 cases of AIDS and 4682 deaths from the disease. Los Angeles and San Francisco account for 80 percent of the state's caseload. Because of 20 percent under reporting, Kizer estimates 10,000 cases of AIDS have already occurred here.

This will get worse. By 1991 AIDS will be the state's seventh leading cause of death. Some 50,000 Californians will have caught the disease and 34,000 will have died. Pediatric cases will mount to more than 300. Currently, up to half a million are now infected with the virus and still healthy. Health officials are uncertain how many of these will actually develop the disease, with estimates varying between 30 and 100 percent, with incubation periods of up to 10 years.

Continued on next page

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The economics of AIDS is still a question mark. The legislative analyst predicts that, by 1991, annual medical care costs associated with AIDS could soar to $406 million, with cumulative costs hitting $1.7 billion. Moreover, as patients lose jobs and insurance, a heavier burden will be placed on Medi-Cal and the state's safety net hospitals. Already, the proportion of AIDS patients covered by Medi-Cal has shot up from 12 percent to 20 percent, and is climbing. Medi-Cal could spend as much as $415 million in cumulative costs by 1991. These figures don't match lost productivity, as AIDS strikes the baby boom generation at the height of its socioeconomic contribution to society. By 1991 premature death could set the state back by $9 billion.

AIDS is the worst infectious epidemic of the 20th Century, a pandemic stretching around the globe. But in California, AIDS is owned by gay men who account for 90 percent of all cases. Now, only 2 percent of all cases involve IV drug users; 2 percent are from blood transfusions; 1 percent are hemophiliacs; and 1 percent are heterosexuals. Though the incidence of AIDS among minorities is still low, there are ominous signals that a new rush of cases will explode in the Black and Hispanic communities, which now account for 9 percent and 10 percent of cases, respectively.

This contrasts with the experience on the East Coast where, needle sharing, heterosexual relations and perinatal transmission account for nearly half of AIDS cases. However, a state-sponsored study here says Black IV drug users are nine times more likely to be infected than other IV drug users. For the foreseeable future, the demographics of AIDS are expected to hold steady.

AIDS is caused by HIV, a retrovirus, which is contagious under specific circumstances of homosexual or heterosexual intercourse, sharing contaminated needles, through contaminated blood products or transfusions, and from a pregnant woman to her baby. A 2.5 percent "don't know" classification comes from death-certificate data, where information on risk behavior cannot not be established.

Because there is no casual transmission, AIDS is not a plague. It is a blood-borne disease transmitted by consensual behaviors. Health officials say that in absence of a cure or vaccine, the public must be educated and motivated to change risky consensual behaviors to halt transmission.

HIV directly attacks the immune system, leaving the body vulnerable to a host of opportunistic infections and cancers. The federal Center for Disease Control (CDC) has specified conditions under which an illness must be classified as AIDS. However, a spectrum of HIV-related diseases that strike seropositive individuals collectively — called AIDS Related Complex (ARC) — raises the number of sick people at least three-fold. People with ARC sometimes go on to develop AIDS. There is no reliable count of ARC patients in California.

Against this backdrop, California lawmakers are gauging the pulse of their constituents. The mood is mixed. Public opinion has certainly "hardened" over the AIDS issue in the sense that people are more aware of AIDS and how it is transmitted. And they want the government to do more.

"We are witnessing powerful conflicting trends of compassion, denial and blame," says Benjamin Schatz, an attorney with the National Gay Rights Advocates in San Francisco. "The more people learn about AIDS, the more they want to see something done. This naive desire for immediate action is vulnerable to exploitation. Testing sounds firm and concrete. Education sounds weak and amorphous," Schatz explains.

Liberals and moderates in both houses of the Legislature will spend this session fending off attacks from right-wing hardliners calling for widespread mandatory blood testing. "Hit pieces," targeting those who seem "soft" on AIDS, are reportedly in the works. "There is a lot of fear about being on the wrong side of a hit piece. Legislators are bound by the restraints of their districts and are often afraid to say anything," according to one legislative consultant who asked not to be named.

Senator Bill Lockyer, a Hayward Democrat, admits his anxiety over the effect a right-wing hit piece could have in his conservative, suburban district. "We frequently worry about how many constituents would be grumpy enough not to vote for you after seeing one of those things," he says.

Though battle lines appear drawn, everyone seems ready to cut a deal. Much depends on the fate of AB 87, a bill introduced last year by then-Assemblyman, now San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos. A liberal, Agnos is closely allied with San Francisco's gay community. AB 87 is a sweeping philosophical-political statement. It declares AIDS a physical handicap for non-discrimination purposes; refines disclosure laws; and requires informed consent before taking an antibody test. It incorporates parts of Surgeon General C. Everett Koop's report on AIDS into the California code and creates a California Commission on AIDS to advise the governor and the Legislature. The bill has cleared the Senate and is back in the Assembly for consideration of amendments. The governor has not declared himself on the bill.

Much also depends on the fate of several controversial bills introduced by state Senator John Doolittle, a Citrus Heights Republican, who is seeking widespread mandatory blood testing. Using a two-tiered, building-block strategy of legislation and ballot initiative, mandatory-testing and reporting advocates launched the first offensive of their campaign at state prisoners, prostitutes, the mentally ill, pregnant women and marriage-license applicants.

Legislation seeking disclosure of antibody positive tests to public-health officials; penalty enhancements for knowingly donating infected blood or commiting sex crimes or prostitution once a person has tested positive; and testing of the mentally ill passed the Senate only to stall in the Assembly Health Committee.

Other measures were amended beyond recognition. A bill which would have required mandatory blood testing for all marriage applicants was softened to make the test voluntary. "We turned the marriage-license notification bill inside out. That's what we intend to do with the other testing bills," says Michael Housh, an Agnos aide.

Another Doolittle bill, SB 1432, allows life and disability insurers to test for HIV antibody status as a condition for coverage. Current law prohibits testing or using test results for that purpose.

The right wing supports mandatory testing and reporting of all antibody positives to public-health authorities to identify HIV "carriers." This, they say, is necessary to protect the health of the uninfected, because they insist medical authorities have not established all modes of HIV transmission. They oppose anti-discrimination protections, viewing them as a smoke screen for gay rights. They scorn targeted education and behavior modification programs emphasizing safe sex and safe fix as advocating promiscuity and drug use.

"We are dealing with a politically protected disease," states Fullerton's Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer. "I stand for the heterosexual ethic and I will not apologize." Denying that people with AIDS have been stigmatized, Dannemeyer believes that employers should discriminate against "someone who espouses a homosexual lifestyle." Dannemeyer places needle users in a class by

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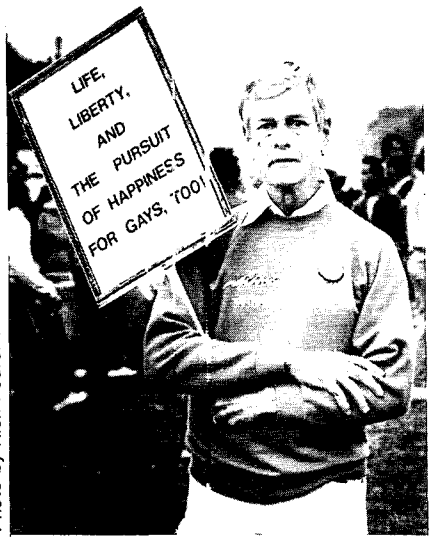

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Bradley Roberts of San Francisco in Washington for the October 1987 Gay Rights March.

themselves. "It is debasement of the body and anyone who chooses to engage in this conduct should live with the consequences." The radical right wing thinks AIDS should be treated like every other communicable disease. Reporting is necessary, they say, for statistics, contact tracing and to warn those unaware of their HIV status.

Meredith Miller, 33, says she's not a junkie or a hooker and doesn't know anything about the homosexual lifestyle. But she can tell people something about discrimination against those with AIDS. On Miller's quiet block in San Francisco's Haight district, she fears harrassment if her neighbors find out she has AIDS. She arranged for friends to adopt her two children, six and nine, so they won't face discrimination in school or on the streets.

Once, Miller recalls, for the half-week her physician was on vacation, hospital personnel refused to care for her. "They wouldn't clean my room, they left the food tray outside my door, they wouldn't come into the room unless they wore gowns and booties and goggles. All I saw were eyeballs. I was traumatized," Miller says.

Kizer at the DHS also calls Dannemeyer's approach inappropriate. Kizer's view is shared by Surgeon General Koop, the U.S. Public Health Service, the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Medical Association and the California Medical Association. "These calls are usually based on the erroneous notion that AIDS is somehow like measles, tuberculosis or other such diseases," Kizer says.

Smith, in Alameda County, is concerned that, "If reporting names is to be the kingpin of an AIDS plan, it will divert money from important activities like education, counseling and case management. When you make venereal diseases reportable, they don't get reported. Then, there will be no adequate measure of the level of infection in the community."

The medical community doesn't dispute the value of HIV antibody testing when it is confidential or anonymous, and used for counseling and behavior modification. That is the principle behind the state's alternative test-site program. However, public-health experts warn that identifying and reporting individuals will cause those with the highest risk to flee the system for fear of persecution, isolation or quarantine. While underground, they will continue to spread the disease because they haven't been counseled on how to stop transmission.

Health experts say mandatory testing creates a sense of false security because some infected people will not test positive the first time. Then too, the percentage of false positive results also rises to unacceptable levels in low-risk populations. Health officers criticize the right wing approach because it deemphasizes the amount of follow-up testing necessary. Testing assumes no risky behavior has taken place between tests, which is unenforceable.

Dannemeyer doesn't buy the argument. "When people get sick they are going to seek medical treatment," he says. Yet public-health experts warn that asymptomatic infected individuals afraid to seek testing can remain healthy for five years or longer, while infecting their sex and/or needle partners and children.

Doolittle doesn't see why anyone would object to a reportable HIV test. "People would cooperate. Only some selfish individual would place his job over the safety of other people."

Meredith Miller says those with the disease would sooner die or go to guerrilla clinics than seek medical treatment under those conditions.

Doolittle, who supported Proposition 64, the 1986 Lyndon LaRouche ballot initiative, also believes that people in professions like food handling and early education, should undergo mandatory testing. As stipulated in Proposition 64, which was soundly defeated by voters, if such persons test antibody positive, they should be removed from their jobs.

What would they do? "Let's be serious. They have to get another job. These are low-level, entry-level jobs anyway. They don't need retraining. And if they do, they'll have to pay for it out of their own pockets or go on public assistance and Medi- Cal," Doolittle states.

Doolittle also says all teenagers should be tested for HIV because, "They are the next biggest risk group. Education without testing puts the cart before the horse." Doolittle says these proposals are just ideas, for now. "We haven't thought it all through, yet," he says.

What has been thought through, and has proved a stunning success, is the state's alternative test-site program. Alternative test sites offer free blood testing and counseling. Since 1985, 150,000 individuals have participated in the program to find out their antibody status, learn how to use condoms for safe sex and how to sterilize IV needles with bleach for safe fix.

Noting the success of persuasion, critics call Doolittle's proposals shallow, "high concept" and politically opportunistic. This sector of conservatives, critics say, are exploiting public distaste for homosexuality and drug abuse to parlay a gay-bashing social policy agenda.

Doolittle denies that he is a homophobe, but admits, "If it were only the offbeat populations — homosexuals and IV drug users — that get AIDS, no one would care about it. I am concerned because we know it is spreading through the heterosexual population."

Meredith Miller is one heterosexual, non-drug user, with AIDS who feels threatened and demeaned by Doolittle's brand of concern. "They want to create another little holocaust. I'm sick. I don't want to be locked up. I haven't hurt anyone."

Says one legislative consultant who agreed to speak anonymously, "The message of the right wing is that this is an unknown source of infection and that somehow the government can root out all the infected people and leave the rest in a disease-free society. They are saying that people cannot be responsible for themselves."

John Doolittle expresses deep contempt for the medical community's emphasis on prevention. "The CDC is distorting the facts with warm reassurance and false impressions that are intentionally paternalistic and unfair. The fact is that we may know how the virus is spread, but we don't know how it isn't spread." Doolittle distrusts public-health experts who insist that AIDS cannot be transmitted through casual contact, air or mosquitoes. He charges, instead, that the state's

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public-health policy is being fashioned by "ardent homosexual-rights activists who have been the driving, organizing force for policy on AIDS."

"I am not interested in homosexual rights," protests Dr. Donald Francis of the CDC. "If they would actually listen to the message, they would see I'm concerned with transmission. How could I possibly be promoting homosexuality when it has a 50 percent chance of killing you?" Francis thinks it's ironic that AIDS prevention programs have generated so much heat. "I'm frankly amazed we don't have more of a constituency on the right, since the prevention programs stress less sex."

Doolittle acknowledges that his colleagues in the Legislature are unlikely to let his bills stand. "I know that our position will have to be changed," Doolittle states. "It's not my preference, but I'm willing to deal in reality to get what I want."

Should he not get what he wants in the Legislature, Doolittle will fall back on the California Physicians for Logical AIDS Response Public Health Act of 1988, which is collecting signatures for the November ballot. This proposal bans alternative test sites, abolishes confidentiality and establishes mandatory contact tracing. It fines doctors who refuse to report HIV positives to public-health authorities and forces them to testify against patients accused of sex crimes. The initiative is sponsored by Paul Gann, a close ally of Doolittle and Dannemeyer, who also has AIDS. The initiative concedes the quarantine issue to the backers of Lyndon LaRouche, whose "Son of 64" ballot initiative will go before the voters in June.

Lawmakers will not have a protracted period to scale the learning curve on AIDS. Their responses to controversial issues will depend not only upon a rational understanding of the facts, but an instinctive sense of what is, and is not, legitimate in a free society.

One plot on the decency index will be whether or not to test all state prisoners for exposure to HIV. Presently, prisoners with AIDS and some antibody positives, are isolated in a special facility in Vacaville (see story, page 60). This marks the beginning of a two-tiered prison system. Opponents to testing inmates realize that trying to sell criminals, prostitutes and the mentally ill to their constituents will be a tough PR call. But they warn that "writing off" such unattractive populations is shortsighted because it gives hard-liners a foundation upon which to enact measures that could eventually affect the mainstream.

But even some moderates feel uncomfortable with current testing laws. And there are some signs they are working their will on current legislation. Laws have been passed that permit spouses to be notified when AIDS is diagnosed and a change permitting the "relaxation of some of the super-confidentiality rules for some hospital patients" has been inacted at the behest of Assemblyman William Filante, a Republican from San Rafael and a physician. Senator Lockyer also complains that some rules are inflexible. "The confidentiality laws were written without an adequate look at the exceptions. They have to be thought out better," he says.

But Congressman Henry Waxman, a liberal Democrat from Los Angeles, believes mandatory testing will ultimately prove a bogus issue. "Because the epidemic has affected gay men and drug abusers, the political right cried out against homosexuals. They would like to use it in the 1988 elections, but they will not be successful. Their position is clearly irresponsible and they will be unsuccessful in using it as a partisan issue. People aren't going to be swayed by a political football regarding public health."

Perhaps the motif for lawmakers this session should be "safe legislation."

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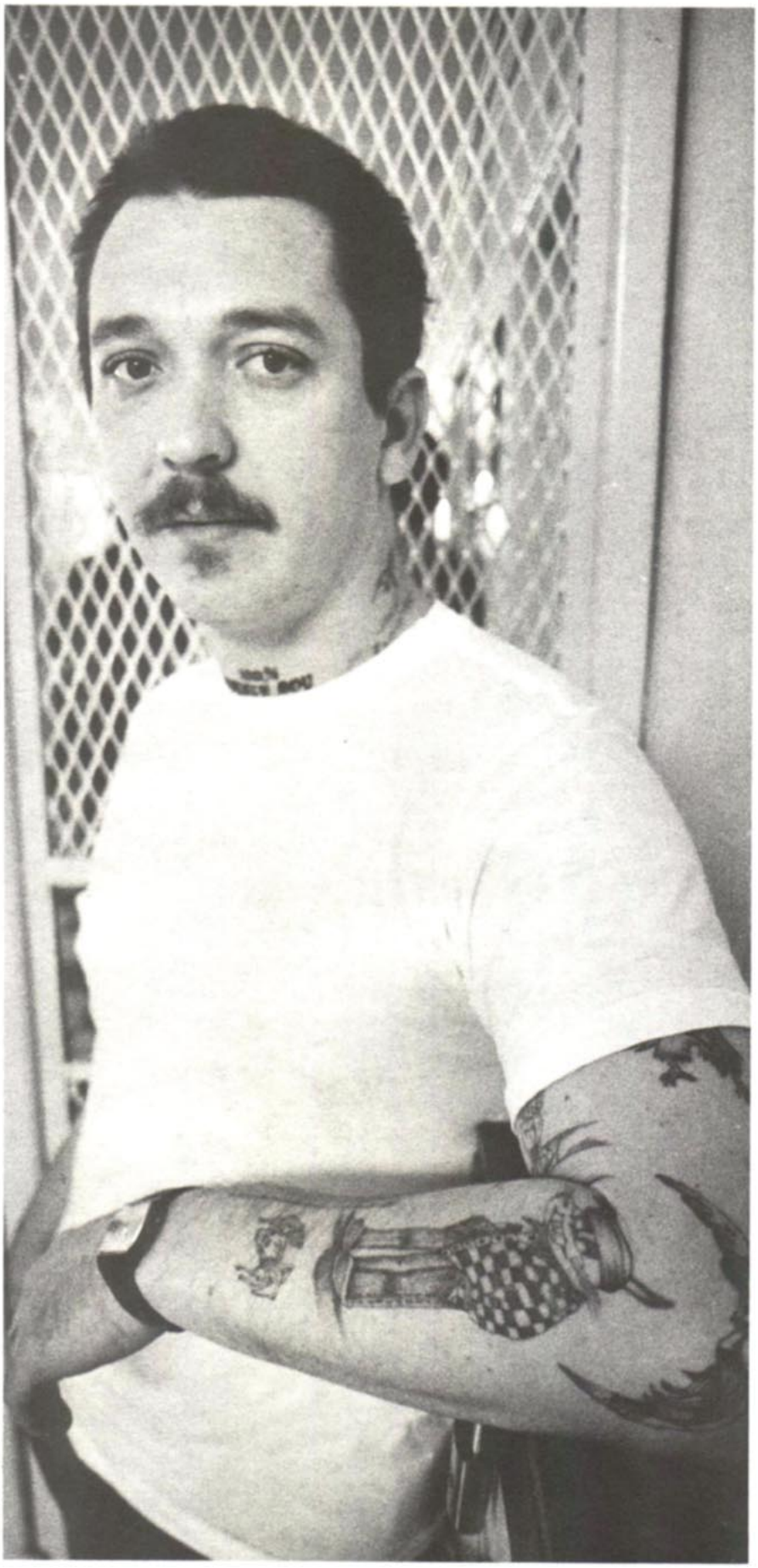

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Vacaville inmate Howard Dunn

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IN PI

A prison within a prison f

By Marc Lifsher

Locked behind steel doors, warehoused in two isolated wings of a high-security prison, 112 men kill time, hoping to finish sentences before dying from AIDS.

The inmates, all diagnosed as suffering from some form of acquired immune deficiency syndrome, are restricted to "L" and "N" Wings — narrow hallways lined with tiny, two-man cells. They live at the California Medical Facility, a 4600-man prison at Vacaville between San Francisco and Sacramento, where the State Department of Corrections is coping with its small piece of a modern-day epidemic.

The epidemic, a baffling disease which destroys the human body's defense system, has added a new dimension to imprisonment for the men on "L" and "N" Wings and for a handful of other AIDS victims ill enough to be transferred to hospitals.

The spectre of AIDS, which has already killed at least 5700 Californians (including 31 convicted criminals), is particularly frightening to the state's 66,000 prisoners. Many of them are intravenous drug users or engage in homosexual sex and know they could be

Marc Lifsher is a Capitol correspondent for The Register *of Orange County.*

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DS
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ose with AIDS

infected by a disease that is primarily transmitted by these activities.

They have good reason to be afraid: AIDS and AIDS-related medical problems appear to be on an unchecked rise in California and its penal institutions.

As of late 1987, 279 inmates had contracted the disease or been infected by the virus since the first three cases were diagnosed four years ago. Currently, AIDS patients almost fill two 67-man wings at Vacaville. Prison officials believe nearly all the cases they know about were contracted outside of prison.

Those numbers are expected to increase as new prisoners are assigned to the state Department of Corrections' first Southern California AIDS facility at Chino, which was scheduled to open early this year.

Corrections projects that the number of California prisoners with some form of AIDS will double to approximately 600 by the end of 1988.

According to the most recent study by the U.S. Department of Justice, 1232 prisoners have been diagnosed with AIDS and 529 have died in federal, state and local prisons and jails between 1981 and late 1986. Alarmingly, the pace of prison AIDS infections is accelerating. The study indicated that more than three-fifths of the cases and almost one-half of the deaths occurred in just 11 months, between November 1985 and October 1986.

In California, the number of prisoners with some phase of AIDS, including a less-severe condition known as AIDS Related Complex (ARC) and the asymptomatic presence of AIDS antibodies in the bloodstream, has nearly doubled during the past year. That rapid increase forced prison officials to open a second AIDS ward at Vacaville and a third at Chino in San Bernardino County.

The stress of living with other AIDS victims away from the general prison population is like a "double whammy," said inmate Steve Mednick. The 31-year-old homosexual and convicted burglar from San Francisco has been in "L" Wing with the pre-AIDS condition of ARC since September 1985. He said he's depressed to be doing hard time in an isolation ward where death may be his only release.

"I feel like we're in a prison within a prison," said another ARC sufferer, Andrew Gunishaw. "It's like you're sentenced to death, but you're fighting to come out from under the death penalty."

Gunishaw, 31, a muscular, self-described career criminal from Oakland, has been locked up off and on since he was 18. Gunishaw, who has been on "L" Wing for 26 months, doesn't know if he'll live to be paroled in 1992. For now, he prays scientists will find a cure before his sentence for attempted murder expires.

"If there's no cure, I will die here without a doubt, and that hurts," he said, words painfully dribbling out as his mind and mouth struggle to turn confused thoughts into sentences.

Howard Dunn, also 31, a former Anaheim roofer convicted of burglary and robbery, is only one year away from parole and fearful ARC will develop into full-blown AIDS before he's out of prison. And even if he lives until then, Dunn wonders who will care for him after he's released.

Despite that, Dunn said he has learned to "accept" his medical condition and is "a little more optimistic" that he may be able to lead some semblance of a normal life outside prison walls.

Although confined to the AIDS wing, Mednick, Gunishaw and Dunn differ little from other prisoners in one aspect: They don't have to be pressed for a list of grievances. Their complaints, however, go far beyond the usual prisoner's litany of bad food or inadequate recreational and educational facilities. *continued on next page*

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Their gripes center on what they consider a state Department of Corrections policy of denying them proper medical and psychological treatment, of unnecessarily restricting them to an isolated, cramped area, of giving them few meaningful activities to keep their minds on something other than sickness and death.

"It's stagnating to be in this isolation unit. There's not enough programs for all the inmates of the wing to get involved in to help them do their time," Mednick said. "We're in this wing, and we're not allowed to leave. It's the same routine day in and day out. All we can do is watch TV or play cards or write letters."

Gunishaw said his confinement makes it hard for him to keep a positive attitude. He'd like to have the same facilities — the gym, library and classes — available to the thousands of non-AIDS inmates who roam the prison's "mainline" during daytime hours.

He wants to go back to the mainline or, barring that, he wants the state to "give us our own prison," complete with all facilities and 24-hour medical and psychological staff.

"It's stressful being locked up; I'd have no trouble being on the mainline," he said.

But prison officials say sound medical and security reasons force them to segregate or "special house" prisoners who have tested positive for AIDS virus antibodies after voluntary screening. And, for the forseeable future, the Department of Corrections has no plans to open a separate prison just for the AIDS inmates, said Chief of Health Services Dr. Nadim Khoury.

Khoury rejects the possibility of building an entire prison for the growing AIDS population as "nightmare thinking." He prefers to deal with the situation "one step at a time." As for Gunishaw, he hopes scientists will discover a cure for AIDS before the number of nationwide victims reaches the staggering 270,000 mark predicted for 1991 by the U.S. Centers For Disease Control.

In the meantime, Khoury said his department will rely on segregation and prisoner education to care for current AIDS victims and to provide a front-line defense against the spread of the disease. He contends that segregation allows physicians to concentrate on their AIDS patients and to give them better care while protecting victims from being threatened with violence or even murder from hostile prisoners in the general population.

"The fact is that this is a cor-

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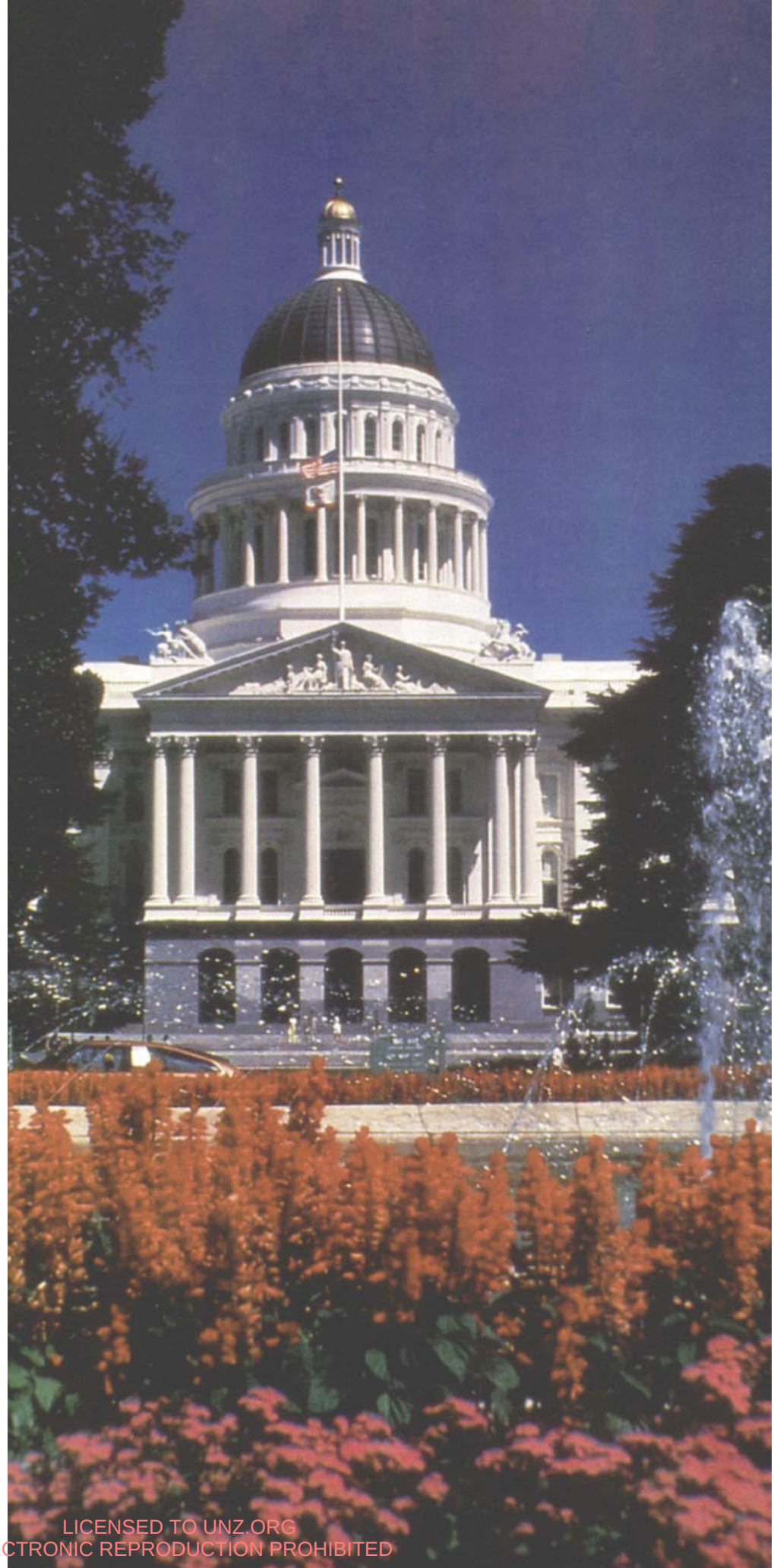

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Minority Floor Leader: Patrick Nolan (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairwoman: Maxine Waters
Republican Caucus Chairman: Dennis Brown

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TYPES OF LEGISLATION

Bills can create new state laws and/or repeal or adjust existing state laws. Depending upon the house of origin, they are referred to as Assembly Bills or Senate Bills, followed by a number (for example, AB 13, SB 132). Bill numbers remain the same during the Legislature's two-year, biennial session.

Constitutional amendments, also called "bills," actually are resolutions proposing constitutional changes to the electorate. They require a two-thirds majority in each house to qualify for the ballot and are referred to as SCAs or ACAs.

Concurrent resolutions are used to adopt joint rules, create joint legislative committees, express legislative intent and commend individuals for public service. They are referred to as ACRs and SCRs.

Joint resolutions express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.

House and Senate resolutions express the sentiment of one house of the Legislature. They usually ask a committee to study a specific problem, create interim committees or amend house rules. Their texts are published in the house *Journal*, and they take effect on their adoption.

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SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES

Agriculture and Water Resources
Chair: Ayala (D)
Vice chair: Mello (D)
Democrats: C. Green, McCorquodale, Presley, Vuich
Republicans: Bergeson, Craven, Doolittle, Nielsen, Rogers
Consultant: Stephen Macola
2090 Capitol Building 445-2206
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tu, 9:30A, Rm. 112

Appropriations
Chair: Presley (D)
Vice chair: Beverly (R)
Democrats: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Deddeh, Dills, Keene, Lockyer
Republicans: Campbell, Maddy
Consultant: Karen French
2206 Capitol Building 445-3284
Meets: M 9:30A, Rm. 4203

Banking and Commerce
Chair: Vuich (D)
Vice chair: Russell (R)
Democrats: Boatwright, Deddeh, L. Greene, Keene, Mello, Montoya, Robbins
Republicans: Beverly, Davis
Consultant: Terry J. Miller
2193 Capitol Building 445-6306
Meets: 2nd & 4th W, 1:30P, Rm. 3191

Budget and Fiscal Review
Chair: Alquist (D)
Vice chair Bergeson (R)
Democrats: B. Greene, Hart, Petris, Robbins, Torres, Vuich, Watson
Republicans: Davis, Ellis, Nielsen
Consultant: Steve Larson
5013 Capitol Building 445-5202
Meets: TH 1:30P, Rm. 4203

Business and Professions
Chair: Montoya (D)
Vice chair: Doolittle (R)
Democrats: L. Greene, Marks, McCorquodale, Rosentha
Republicans: Craven, Royce
Consultant: Amiel Jaramillo
5046 Capitol Building 445-3435
Meets: 2nd & 4th M, 1:30P, Rm. 3191

Constitutional Amendments
Chair: Royce (R)
Vice chair: Hart (D)
Democrats: Alquist, McCorquodale
Republicans: Davis
Consultant: Richard Mersereau
4053 Capitol Building 445-2802
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tu, 9:30A, Rm. 112

Education
Chair: Hart (D)
Vice chair: Morgan (R)
Democrats: Deddeh, Dills, C. Greene, L. Greene, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Bergeson, Davis, Seymour
Consultant William Whiteneck
2037 Capitol Building 445-2522
Meets: W 9:30A, Rm. 4203

Elections
Chair: Marks (D)
Vice chair: Craven (R)
Democrats: Boatwright, B. Greene, Lockyer, Rosenthal
Republicans: Ellis, Richardson
Consultant: Timothy A. Hodson
5051 Capitol Building 445-2601
Meets: 1st & 3rd W, 9:30A, Rm. 3191

Energy and Public Utilities
Chair: Rosenthal (D)
Vice chair: Russell (R)
Democrats: Alquist, Garamendi, L. Greene, Hart, Mello, Montoya
Republicans: Morgan
Consultant: Paul Fadelli
2035 Capitol Building 445-9765
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tu, 1:30P, Rm. 112

Governmental Organization
Chair: Dills (D)
Vice chair: Campbell (R)
Democrats: Alquist, Garamendi, B. Greene, Keene, Lockyer, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Beverly, Maddy
Consultant: Lindsay W. Miller
5048 Capitol Building 445-1193
Meets: T 9:30A, Rm. 3191

Health and Human Services
Chair: Watson (D)
Vice chair: Maddy (R)
Democrats: McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Rosenthal, Royce, Torres
Republicans: Campbell, Royce
Consultant: Jane Uitti
2191 Capitol Building 445-5965
Meets: W 1:30P, Rm. 4203

Housing and Urban Affairs
Chair: L. Greene (D)
Vice chair: Rogers (R)
Democrats: Lockyer, Petris, Torres
Republicans: Royce
Independent: Kopp
Consultant: Krist A. Lane
2205 Capitol Building 445-8740
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tu, 9:30A, Rm. 2040

Industrial Relations
Chair: B. Greene (D)
Vice chair: Campbell (R)
Democrats: L. Greene, Lockyer, Montoya, Petris, Rosenthal,
Republicans: Maddy, Royce
Consultant: Casey L. Young
4039 Capitol Building 445-1237
Meets: 2nd & 4th W, 9:30A, Rm. 2040

Insurance, Claims and Corporations
Chair: Robbins (D)
Vice chair: Nielsen (R)
Democrats: Deddeh, C. Green, Keene, McCorquodale, Montoya
Republicans: Davis, Doolittle
Consultant: Sheldon Davidow
5122 Capitol Building 445-0825
Meets: 1st & 3rd W, 1:30P, Rm. 112

Judiciary
Chair: Lockyer (D)
Vice chair: Davis (R)
Democrats: Keene, Marks, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Doolittle, Richardson
Consultant: Gene Wong
2187 Capitol Building 445-5957
Meets: T 1:30P, Rm. 4203

Local Government
Chair: Bergeson (R)
Vice chair: Vuich (D)
Democrats: Ayala, C. Green
Republicans: Craven, Russell
Independent: Kopp
Consultant: Peter M. Detwiler
2085 Capitol Building 445-9748
Meets: W 9:30A, Rm. 112

Natural Resources and Wildlife
Chair: McCorquodale (D)
Vice chair: Richardson (R)
Democrats: Garamendi, Hart, Marks, Mello, Presley
Republicans: Nielsen, Rogers
Consultant: Peter Szego
2031 Capitol Building 445-5441
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tu, 9:30A, Rm. 4203

Public Employment And Retirement
Chair: C. Green (D)
Vice chair: Royce (R)
Democrats: McCorquodale, Watson
Republicans: Rogers
Consultant: David B. Felderstein
2203 Capitol Building 445-8958
Meets: 1st & 3rd M, 1:30P, Rm. 2040

Revenue and Taxation
Chair: Garamendi (D)
Vice chair: Royce (R)
Democrats: Ayala, Boatwright, Lockyer, Petris
Republicans: Morgan, Seymour
Independent: Kopp
Consultant: Martin Helmke
4072 Capitol Building 445-3808
Meets: 1st & 3rd W, 1:30P, Rm. 3191

The 1988 Roster
was revised and updated by
Ellen Chapman,
Betsy Aoki and Elaine Guidoux.
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Rules
Chair: Roberti (D)
Vice chair: Craven (R)
Democrats: Mello, Petris
Republicans: Ellis
Consultant: Cliff Berg
400 Capitol Building 445-4311
Meets: W 1:30P, Rm. 113

Toxics and Public Safety Management
Chair: Torres (D)
Vice chair: Seymour (R)
Democrats: B. Greene, Lockyer, Rosenthal
Republicans: Nielsen
Independent: Kopp
Consultant: Bob Fredenburg
2080 Capitol Building 324-0894
Meets: 2nd & 4th M, 1:30P, Rm. 112

Transportation
Chair: Deddeh (D)
Vice chair: Ellis (R)
Democrats: C. Green, Hart, McCorquodale, Robbins
Republicans: Bergeson, Beverly, Morgan, Russell, Seymour
Independent: Kopp
Consultant: M. Mehdi Morshed
2195 Capitol Building 445-3182
Meets: T 1:30P, Rm. 112

ASSEMBLY STANDING COMMITTEES

Aging & Long Term Care
Chair: Connelly (D)
Vice chair: Hansen (R)
Democrats: Bates, Friedman, Hayden, Roos
Republicans: Allen, Bradley, Filante
Consultant: Tom Porter
1100 J Street, Room 505 445-8688
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tu, 9:00A, Rm. 444

Agriculture
Chair: N. Waters (D)
Vice chair: Jones (R)
Democrats: Areias, Clute, Condit, Cortese, Johnston
Republicans: Chandler, Hansen, Kelley, Seastrand
Consultant: Mike Falasco
6028 Capitol Building 445-1918
Meets: 1st & 3rd M, 2:00P, Rm. 437

Economic Development & New Technologies
Chair: Farr (D)
Vice chair: Quackenbush (R)
Democrats: Eastin, Hauser, Killea, Speier, Vasconcellos
Republicans: Duplissea, Frazee, Harvey
Consultant: Timothy Masanz
3120 Capitol Building 445-0424
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tu, 9:00A, Rm. 126

Education
Chair: Hughes (D)
Vice chair: Bader (R)
Democrats: Campbell, Clute, Farr, Friedman, Hayden, Johnston, O'Connell, Vasconcellos
Republicans: Bradley, La Follete, Leonard, Longshore, Quackenbush, Statham
Consultant: Bill Chavez
3111 Capitol Building 445-9431
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tu, 2:00P, Rm. 437

Elections, Reapport., and Const. Amend.
Chair: Chacon (D)
Vice chair: Mountjoy (R)
Democrats: Bane, Condit, Elder, Klehs, Margolin
Republicans: Baker, D.Brown, Lewis
Consultant: Barbara Milman
5119 Capitol Building 322-5249
Meets: 1st & 3rd W, 2:00P, Rm. 447

Environmental Safety and Toxic Materials
Chair: Tanner (D)
Vice chair: La Follete (R)
Democrats: Connelly, Eastin, Hayden, Katz, Kelley, Killea, Sher, Speier
Republicans: Bader, Bradley, Quackenbush, Wright
Consultant: Arnold Peters
4146 Capitol Building 445-0991
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tu, 2:00P, Rm. 444

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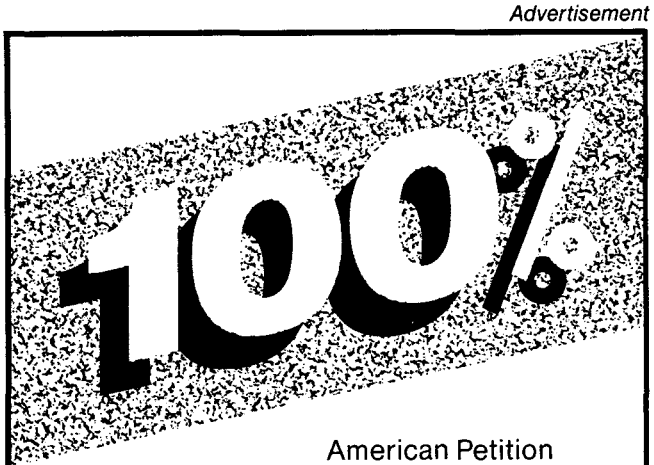

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Finance and Insurance
Chair: Johnston (D)
Vice chair: Johnsin (R)
Democrats: Bane, Bronzan, Chacon, Clute, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Hughes, Katz, Moore, O'Connell
Republicans: D. Brown, La Follete, Lancaster, Lewis, Seastrand, Stirling, Wright, Wyman
Consultant: Bill George
4001 Capitol Building 445-9160
Meets: T 9:00A, Rm. 4202

Gov. Efficiency and Consumer Protection
Chair: vacant
Vice chair Stirling (R)
Democrats: Chacon, Eastin, Hannigan, Sher
Republicans: Frazee, Grisham, Harvey
Consultant: Mark Sektnan
4121 Capitol Building 324-7440
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tu, 2:00P, Rm. 126

Governmental Organization
Chair: Floyd (D)
Vice chair Hill (R)
Democrats: Areias, Costa, Cortese, Floyd, Harris, Tanner, Tucker, M. Waters, N. Waters
Republicans: Baker, Frizzelle, Grisham, Johnson, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Statham
Consultant: Jeff Ruch
4016 Capitol Building 445-3451
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tu, 9:00A, Rm. 437

Health
Chair: Tucker (D)
Vice chair Felando (R)
Democrats: Bronzan, Isenberg, Klehs, Margolin, Moore, Polanco, Roybal-Allard, Speier
Republicans: Allen, Chandler, Ferguson, Filante, Hill Leslie, Zeltner
Consultant: Paul Press
2160 Capitol Building 445-1770
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tu, 2:00P, Rm. 4202

Housing and Community Development
Chair: Hauser (D)
Vice chair Ferguson (R)
Democrats: Bane, Chacon, Clute, Costa, Elder, Polanco
Republicans: Bader, Grisham, Lewis, Mountjoy
Consultant: Michael Krisman
1100 J St. 445-2320
Meets: 2nd & 4th M, 2:00P, Rm. 437

Human Services
Chair: Bates (D)
Vice chair: Leslie (R)
Democrats: Calderon, Condit, Friedman
Republicans: Harvey, Quackenbush
Consultant: Dion Aroner
446 Capitol Building 445-0664
Meets: 1st & 3rd W, 9:00A, Rm. 126

International Trade & Intergovt. Rel.
Chair: Killea (D)
Vice chair: Wyman (R)
Democrats: Bronzan, Chacon, Condit, Farr, Roos
Republicans: Bradley, Longshore, Wright
Consultant: Kathy Krause
3173 Capitol Building 445-4591
Meets: 2nd & 4th W, 2:00P, Rm. 127

Judiciary
Chair: Harris (D)
Vice chair: McClintock (R)
Democrats: Connelly, Friedman, Isenberg, Johnston, M. Waters
Republicans: Leslie, Mojonnier, Stirling
Consultant: Rubin Lopez
6005 Capitol Building 445-4560
Meets: 2nd & 4th W, 2:00P, Rm. 126

Labor and Employment
Chair: Hayden (D)
Vice chair: Allen (R)
Democrats: Bates, Klehs, Roybal-Allard, Tanner, Floyd
Republicans: Bradley, Chandler, Duplissea
Consultant: Jerry McFetridge
3091 Capitol Building 445-2657
Meets: 2nd & 4th W, 9:00A, Rm. 126

Local Government
Chair: Cortese (D)
Vice chair: Frazee (R)
Democrats: Hannigan, Hauser, Roybal-Allard, Sher, N. Waters
Republicans: Hansen, Jones, Kelley, Lancaster
Consultant: Casey Sparks
6031 Capitol Building 445-6034
Meets: 2nd & 4th W, 2:00P, Rm. 126

Natural Resources
Chair: Sher (D)
Vice chair: Harvey (R)
Democrats: Bates, Connelly, Farr, Roos, Speier, M. Waters
Republicans: Hansen, La Follete, Leonard, Statham
Consultant: Kip Lipper
2136 Capitol Building 445-9367
Meets: 2nd & 4th M, 2:00P, Rm. 444

Public Employees, Retirement, Soc. Sec.
Chair: Elder (D)
Vice chair: Grisham (R)
Democrats: Calderon, Hughes, Moore, O'Connell, Tucker
Republicans: Frizzelle, Lancaster, Wyman
Consultant: Dave Cox
4126 Capitol Building 322-4320
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tu, 2:00P, Rm. 126

Public Safety
Chair: Stirling (R)
Democrats: Campbell, Friedman, Margolin, Roos
Republicans: Leslie, Zeltner
Consultant: Susan Goodman
Rm. 404 1100 J. St. 445-3268
Meets: M 1:30P, Rm. 126

Revenue and Taxation
Chair: Klehs (D)
Vice chair: D. Brown (R)
Democrats: Calderon, Cortese, Eastin, Elder, Hannigan, Harris, Sher, Speier
Republicans: Bader, Duplissea, Frizzelle, Grisham, McClintock, Quackenbush
Consultant: Ellen Worcester
2013 Capitol Building 322-3730
Meets: 1st & 3rd M, 2:00P, Rm. 4202

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Rules
Chair: Bane (D)
Vice chair: Filante (R)
Democrats: Isenberg, Margolin, O'Connell, Polanco
Republicans: Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Wright
Consultant: Bob Connelly
3016 Capitol Building 445-8173
Meets: M 3:00p, Rm. 3162

Transportation
Chair: Katz (D)
Vice chair: Duplissea (R)
Democrats: Areias, Clute, Eastin, Eaves, Harris, Killea, Polanco
Republicans: Ferguson, Frazee, Hansen, Lancaster, Wyman
Consultant: John Stevens
3194 Capitol Building 445-7278
Meets: W 1:30P, Rm. 444

Utilities and Commerce
Chair: Moore (D)
Vice chair: Wright (R)
Democrats: Eaves, Farr, Hughes, Peace, Polanco, Roybal-Allard
Republicans: Bradley, Felando, Hill, Leonard, Longshore
Consultant: Robert Jacobson
2117 Capitol Building 445-4246
Meets: 1st & 3rd M, 2:00P, Rm. 447

Veterans Affairs
Chair: Clute (D)
Vice chair: Longshore (R)
Democrats: Costa, Floyd, Tucker, N. Waters
Republicans: Mojonnier, Statham, Zeltner
Consultant: Al Hinojosa
4167 Capitol Building 323-6066
Meets: 1st & 3rd W, 9:00A, Rm. 127

Water, Parks, and Wildlife
Chair: Costa (D)
Vice chair: Kelley (R)
Democrats: Campbell, Hauser, Isenberg, Peace, Tanner, N. Waters
Republicans: Chandler, Filante, Harvey, Jones, McClintock
Consultant: Linda S. Adams
2003 Capitol Building 445-6164
Meets: 1st & 3rd W, 2:00P, Rm. 437

Ways and Means
Chair: Vasconcellos (D)
Vice chair: Baker (R)
Democrats: Bronzan, Campbell, Eaves, Hannigan, Isenberg, Margolin, O'Connell, Polanco, Roos, Speier, M. Waters
Republicans: D. Brown, Ferguson, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Seastrand
Consultant: vacant
6026 Capitol Building 445-7082
Meets: W 9:00A, Rm. 4202

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State Government Information	322-9900
Assembly Chief Clerk	445-3614
Assembly Office of Research	445-9098/445-1638
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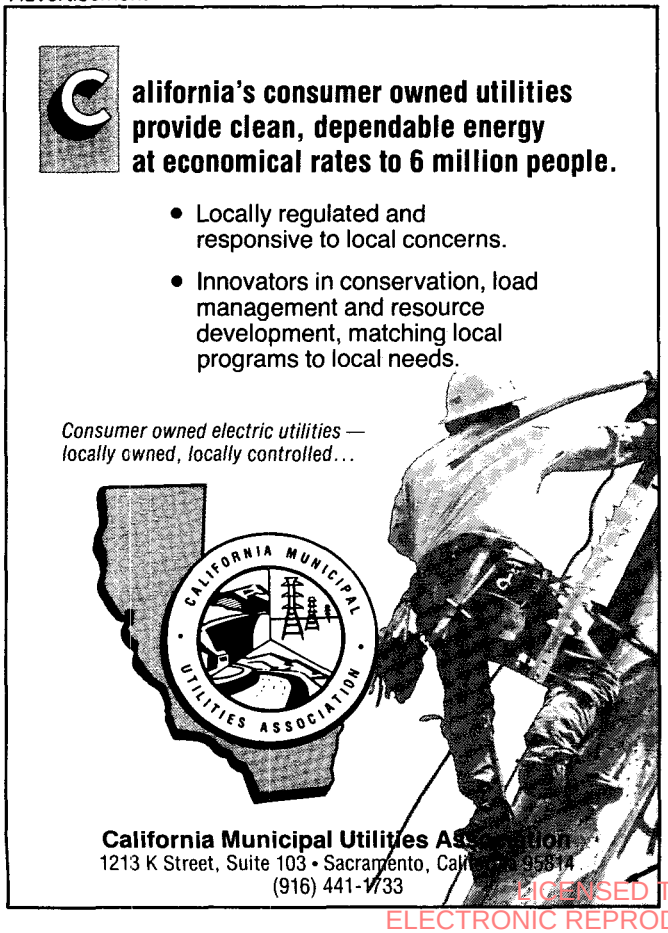
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LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR 1988

February 19	Last day to introduce bills
March 24	Easter Recess begins on adjournment
April 4	Legislature reconvenes
April 15	Last day for policy committees to hear and report house of origin bills for referral to fiscal committees
May 6	Last day for policy committees to hear and report house of origin bills
May 27	Last day for policy committees to meet and report bills prior to June 13
June 3	Last day for fiscal committees to hear and report house of origin bills
*June 3	Last day on which any committee may meet and report bills prior to June 13
June 10	Last day for house of origin to pass its own bills other than the Budget Bill
June 13	Committee meetings may resume
July 1	Last day for policy committees to hear and report other house's bills for referral to fiscal committees. Summer Recess begins on adjournment (provided Budget Bill has been enacted)
August 1	Legislature reconvenes
August 5	Last day for policy committees to meet and report other house's bills
August 12	Last day for fiscal committees to meet and report other house's bills
*August 12	Last day on which any committee may meet for the purpose of hearing any bill
August 31	Last day for any bill to be passed which is to become law on January 1, 1989. Final recess begins on adjournment
September 30	Last day for Governor to sign or veto bills passed by the Legislature before September 1 and in his possession on or after September 1
October 2	Bills enacted on or before this day take effect on January 1, 1989
November 15	Last day to present bills to Governor
November 27	Last day for Governor to sign or veto bills
November 30	**ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE**
December 5	Convening of 1989-90 Regular Session

*Constitutional amendments urgency bills, bills calling elections, and bills providing for tax levies or appropriations for the usual current expenses of the state are **NOT EXEMPT** from this deadline.

(THE DATES INCLUDED IN THIS CALENDAR ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE)

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California's Legislative Process

Initial steps by author

IDEA
Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING
Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION
Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

Action in house of origin

COMMITTEE
Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.
Bills with any fiscal implications, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Appropriations Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING
Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

Disposition in second house

READING
Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE
Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING
If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

Resolution of two-house differences (if necessary)

CONCURRENCE
The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE
If the conferees fail to agree, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise (conference report), both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.

Role of the governor

SIGN OR VETO?
Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.

Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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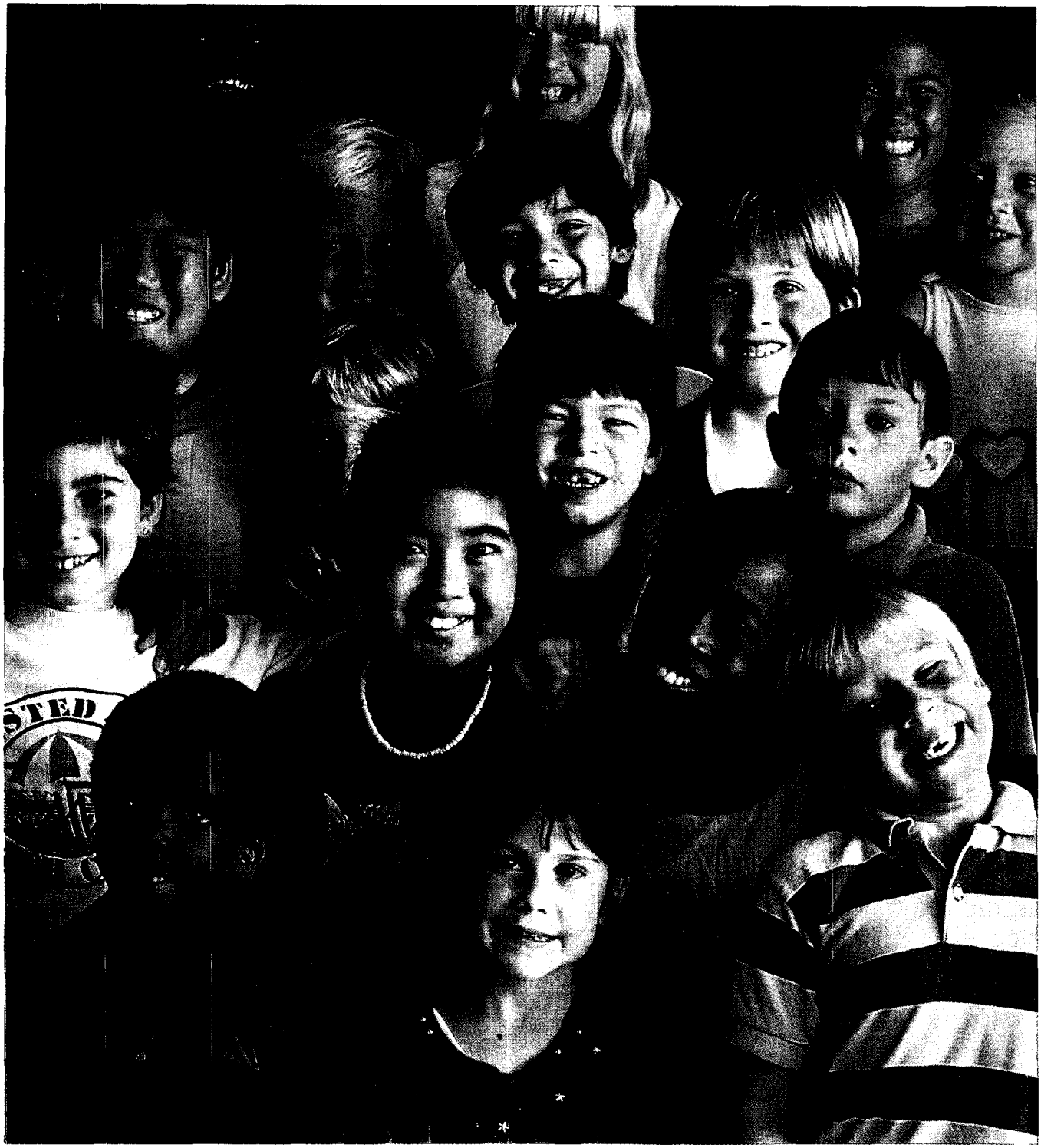

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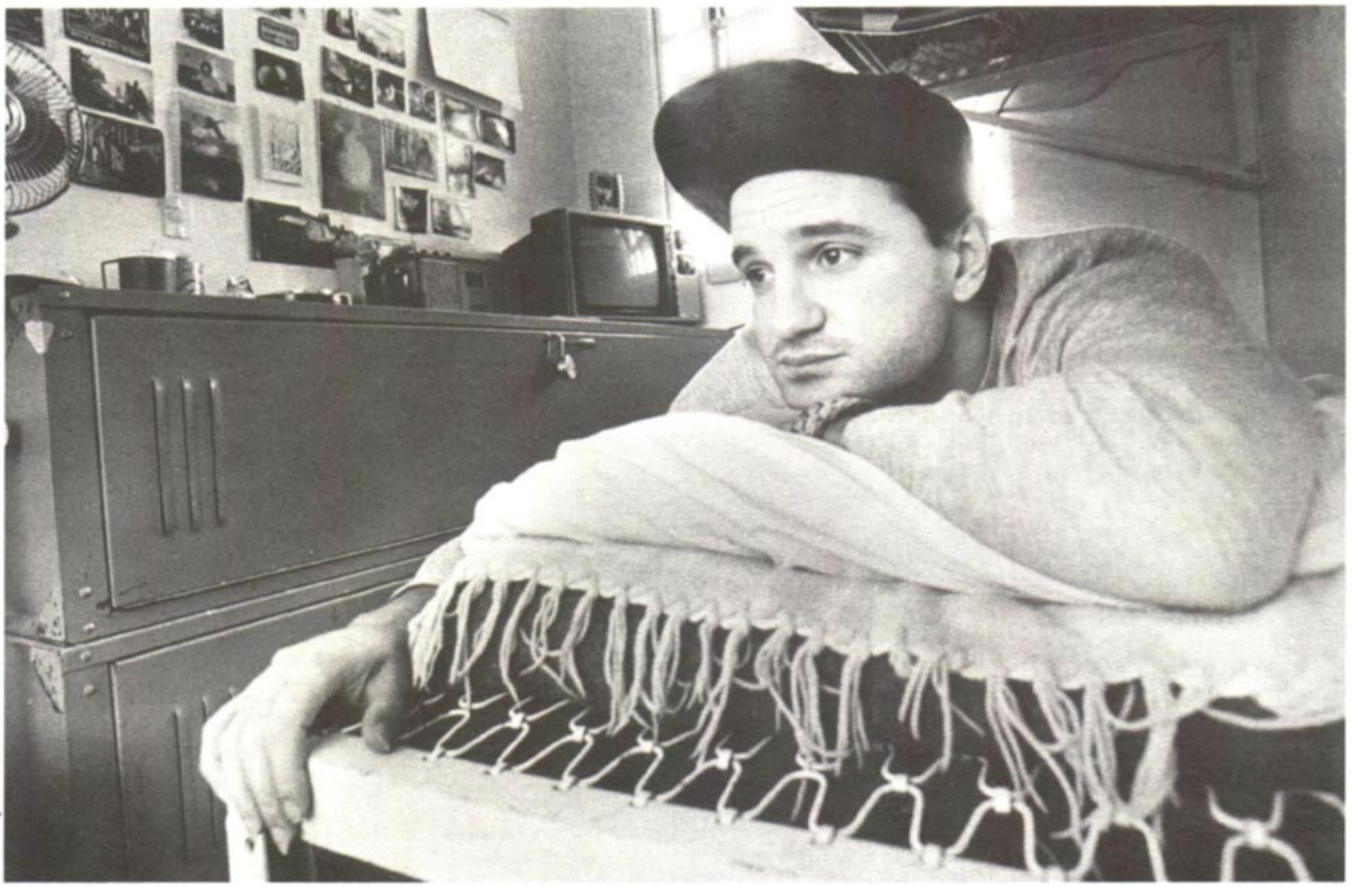

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Steve Mednick

rectional facility," Khoury said. "A rumor that anybody has AIDS or might be potentially transmitting AIDS ... could put that person in the bad position of being threatened by other inmates because they look at him as a source of infection."

Although Khoury stresses that both homosexuality and drug use are illegal in prison, he said Corrections recognizes that such practices take place and "we feel it is our obligation that the disease is not spread."

He asserts his department is making an aggressive, "pro-active" effort to ensure that every current and incoming inmate is made fully aware that intravenous drug use, gay sex and use of needles for ear piercing and tatooing are ideal methods for transmitting AIDS throughout the prison population. The education program equally stresses that the disease is not contracted by casual contacts such as shaking hands or eating in a common mess hall.

He said new inmates at prison reception centers view AIDS-prevention videos and receive regular briefings from trained medical personnel. Additionally, he said all new prisoners now receive pamphlets, whose easy-to-read cartoon format explicitly warn them about the dangers of shooting drugs and engaging in anal and oral intercourse.

However, critics of the Corrections AIDS-education program, including prisoners, accuse officials of failing to adequately teach inmates about the disease. "Education has been a catch-as-catch-can kind of thing," complains Cia Lynn, the wife of a Vacaville lifer trying to get funding for a proposal to institute "a mass education program at CMF and throughout the state."

ARC-patient Dunn agrees that AIDS education has been less than adequate at prisons he's been at but notes that administration efforts seem to have improved recently.

"For the first three months I was here, I didn't see anything. I wasn't sure what I had," Dunn said. "ARC? What is ARC? No doctors explained it to me. But when I finally saw an AIDS film three months later, I felt better. I wasn't as worried."

Although education, both inside and outside prison walls, is considered the best means to fight AIDS, it's not the only important weapon against the disease. Medical authorities, from U.S. Surgeon General C. Everette Koop to county public health officers, argue that the use of condoms greatly reduces transmission of AIDS during both heterosexual and homosexual intercourse.

Despite condoms' proven effectiveness, such protection is not available in prisons where homosexual sex is not uncommon. Homosexual acts in penal institutions are felonies, so prison officials insist they cannot condone illegal acts by providing condoms for prisoners.

"We're not passing out condoms. If we passed them out, it would be like saying go ahead and have sex," said Dr. Nick Poulos, the chief physician and surgeon at Vacaville.

For his part, Khoury insists there is no proof that homosexuality is as rampant in prison as some believe and questions whether condoms would help contain the disease. He said statistics indicate that almost all prison AIDS cases are contracted on the outside before inmates are incarcerated, and transmission within correctional facilities, so far, is not a major problem.

Moreover, the doctor said condoms provide no protection during cases of homosexual rape. He said prosecutions for rape, which he admits occurs in prison, are difficult because few victims press charges.

continued on next page

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Although the department bans condom use by homosexuals, it recently authorized their use by married couples during conjugal visits, said Christine May, a Corrections information officer. Those visits are not available to inmates in the AIDS wards, she said.

With few exceptions, prison administrators throughout the nation have been reluctant to make condoms available to general inmate populations. To date, only the state of Vermont has approved a program of giving condoms to any inmate who requests one.

New York, which leads all 50 states in numbers of prisoners with AIDS — 550 fully developed cases since 1981 — parallels California's policy of not freely handing out condoms. However, the state differs from California in a number of other major areas including testing and segregating prisoners.

California now performs no mass screening. It only tests inmates who voluntarily request their blood be checked for presence of AIDS antibodies. New York, however, carries out no formal testing program and will only check inmates when directed to do so by a physician, said Jim Flateau, a spokesman for the state Department of Correctional Services.

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Although California and New York do no mass screening, the practice is increasing nationwide, said Theodore Hammett, the author of the 1986 U.S. Department of Justice survey of federal, state and local prisons and jails that is currently being updated. Hammett said preliminary update findings indicated that the number of states testing all prisoners has increased from three to 10 over the last year, after President Ronald Reagan ordered federal prisons to begin screening.

The federal program, which got under way in June 1987, calls for routine screening of 10 percent of federal prisoners and 100 percent of all inmates being released, said Richard Olson, the infectious disease coordinator for the U.S. Bureau of Prisons.

Though the Bureau widely tests, it does not follow the California model of segregating prisoners who have tested positive, Olson said. He added that unless inmates are actually sick, they remain in the general population.

New York also differs from California when it comes to quarantining prisoners with AIDS or ARC, Flateau said.

"We have no segregation because a person has AIDS, only medical isolation when a doctor says it's medically necessary," Flateau said. "We don't make people wear a sign they have AIDS. The prison respects the patient-doctor confidentiality, and if people follow prison rules and directives, there's no risk."

He said New York's extensive prisoner education program has minimized chances that AIDS patients will be harmed by other prisoners.

Flateau said quarantining is no more necessary in prison than it is on the outside. "I don't know of any medical authorities who have recommended segregating people with AIDS," he said. "We don't know of any rational reason why people in prison should be treated any differently than people on the outside because the disease is spread in prison the same way as on the outside."

The latest Department of Justice survey, released in late 1986, appears to endorse New York's non-segregation policy rather than California's decision to "special house" AIDS inmates. According to study author Hammett, measures such as isolating AIDS patients are waning in state and federal prisons.

"The original policies of blanket segregation that developed when the problem first came up tended to overreact to a real scare," he said. "But as more is learned about AIDS, corrections administrations are beginning to understand that it's unnecessary and in some cases inappropriate to segregate."

Although Hammett said AIDS presents a serious threat to prisoner health, he said the study concluded that prisons "are not the hotbed of AIDS that some people lead you to believe...and evidence does not exist to establish that there is a need for Draconian practices that some people are trying to suggest."

Hammett suggested that corrections officials should take a "cautious approach" on AIDS. Nevertheless, he warned that the disease will go on spreading in prisons, albeit at a slower rate than in society as a whole.

But Hammett's suggestion that prisons should be able to control AIDS brings no solace to Mednick and other California inmates with AIDS. They go on living in fear and isolation, watching their cellmates die and trying to survive.

"I've seen a healthy man shrivel up and become so emaciated," Mednick said. "It's horrifying to see that and think am I going to be next? Is he going to be next? Who is going to be next?

"When is all the dying going to stop?"

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Alzheimer's: a disease more costly than AIDS

By Kathleen Beasley

Frank shuffles when he walks, grows confused trying to find the house next door and loses track of whether he's dressing or undressing when he has his shirt half on. He has not yet forgotten how to eat or — more important how to breathe, but that will come in time. And then he will die.

Frank could be one of the many patients whose AIDS has taken the form of debilitating dementia. But he is not. Frank is a victim of Alzheimer's disease, a malady that will kill him just as surely as AIDS would; a devasting illness that will drag his family through a hell every bit as harrowing as that endured by those close to AIDS victims.

And for those who don't know Frank and are untouched by his personal tragedy — society as a whole — the prognosis also is not good: They will foot the bill for Frank and others like him, and the cost will be enormous, both individually and in the aggregate, a cost that far outstrips any envisioned by those who track AIDS.

One of the biggest problems facing AIDS activists has been how to capture and keep the attention of middle-class America, an attention that is vital if funds are to be committed to caring for AIDS patients and researching cures and vaccines. The disease has stubbornly remained outside the mainstream despite fears of a massive outbreak in the heterosexual community. It is still mostly gays and intravenous drug users who suffer from AIDS, and that picture will not be changing soon. So how can AIDS activists focus the concern of middle America on the disease if it's not hanging over their heads?

One way has been to remind them of the massive costs associated with dying from AIDS. The drug AZT alone costs $10,000 a year. Death from AIDS is typically a slow process, with people living 18 months to three years after diagnosis, and costly, complete bed care a necessity toward the end. Society as a whole will foot those costs in the end, either through taxes or increased premiums on health insurance.

But that argument loses some of its power when placed in perspective with other high-cost diseases. Dr. Edward Schneider, dean of the USC Andrus Gerontology Clinic, recently delivered a paper comparing the costs of AIDS to those of Alzheimer's disease. He is quick to preface his comments with insistence that any money spent on AIDS research is a good investment and indeed necessary. But other diseases need more research dollars, as well, he says.

By 1991 the cost of AIDS (care, research and education) is expected to reach $7 billion, Schneider says. But in 1983, the cost of Alzheimer's disease was already $38 billion — a figure that is expected to reach a staggering $70 billion by 1991.

Close to three million people now have Alzheimer's, a figure that doubles the 1.5 million people who are believed to be carrying AIDS antibodies. The Alzheimer's case load is expected to spiral upwards as the population in America ages (while those 60 and younger have very little chance of developing Alzheimer's, the risk increases to one-in-three for those who are in their 80s, Schneider says). Almost half the patients now in continuous-care facilities are Alzheimer's victims.

The two diseases are similar in effect: Both are terminal, but with Alzheimer's the victims invariably lose the use of their minds long before their bodies give out. Both are slow, progressive diseases, but Alzheimer's is the slower, usually stretching costly care over five or 10 years, compared to less than two years for AIDS. Both place a tremendous burden on care-givers as the patients become less and less able to care for themselves. AIDS is contagious; no one knows what causes Alzheimer's, but one theory centers on a slow-acting virus that might mean this disease, too, is contagious.

But the two diseases differ, as well. Perhaps the most telling difference is in the reaction of other people. Alzheimer's evokes immediate compassion; AIDS is viewed as frightening, dirty, something to shun. The effect was summed up at a hearing recently when Jerry de Jong, executive director of 18th Street Services in San Francisco, talked about how difficult the fight against AIDS has been.

"When we battled the toxic shock syndrome or Legionnaire's disease, every tool at our disposal was marshalled," he said. "It's sad that we're fighting a disease now that seems to make people extremely uncomfortable, for we have to talk about gay sexual behavior; we have to talk about drug addicts; we have to talk about condoms; we have to talk about prostitution; we have to talk about bisexuality."

The reaction from an industry greatly affected by illness has also been different. Insurance experts predict that costs from AIDS, a new disease that has never been factored into their actuarial charts, will hit the billions and will bankrupt them. They are pushing hard for laws that allow them to screen for — and to reject — AIDS antibody carriers. There has been no similar move against Alzheimer's victims, a disease that has only been recognized in the last few decades as a distinct illness but has been with us for centuries.

Yet another difference: Frank began to show signs of Alzheimer's while in his late 50s and will undoubtedly die before he reaches 70. But most patients are even older. AIDS is a disease of the young, with the average patient between 20 and 40. "Traditionally our country has paid more attention to diseases of the youth," Schneider says, "but as society ages as a whole, that emphasis may change."

The differences in the diseases are pale beside the stark fact of their deadliness. Both are having a stunning impact on society as millions of individuals are drained away.

"People are rightly concerned that AIDS can become an epidemic," Schneider says. "That's a reasonable alarm, and I certainly support the effort to come up with a cure.

"But we shouldn't lose sight of the other deadly diseases, which cause just as much devastation and are even more costly."

Kathleen Beasley is a freelance writer from Sacramento and an aide to Republican Assemblyman Stan Statham.

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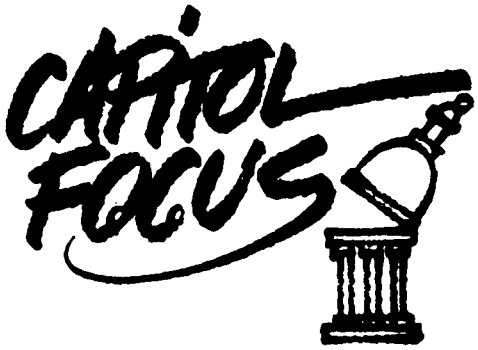

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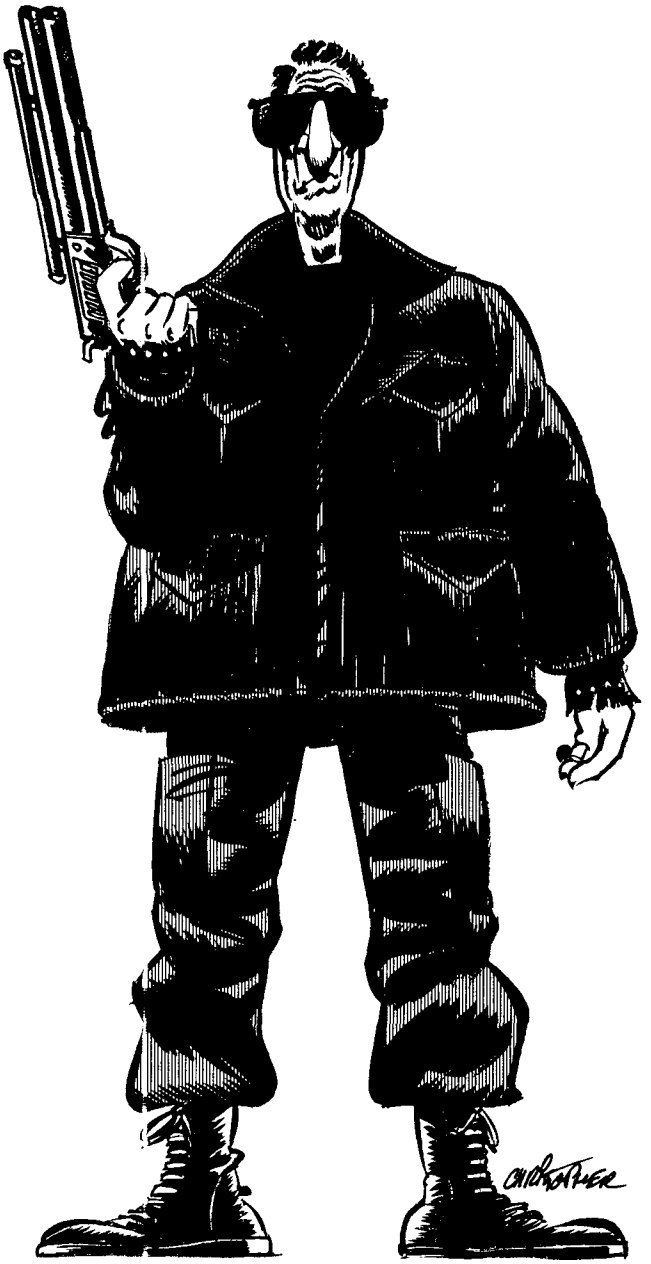

THE TERMINATOR

Deukmejian dismantles state's regulatory system

By David M. Kutzmann, Teresa Watanabe and Arnold J. Hamilton

The signs are scattered and easy to overlook.

Along the spectacular North Coast, thousands of acres of historic redwoods are being felled. In the mountains of the majestic Sierra Nevada, illegal hunting of California bears is on the rise.

From Silicon Valley's high-tech labs to the Imperial Valley's vast salad bowl, there are fewer safety inspections, more job hazards and a rising drumbeat of worker complaints. Consumers go unheard; sleazy officials go unpunished and incompetent professionals go undetected.

But this disparate collection of headlines in fact spells a larger story — some say an alarming one — of California today. It is the story of a quiet revolution that has, in just five years, effectively stripped Californians of a host of environmental, consumer and labor protections built up over two decades by both Democrats and Republicans.

The radical crusader is conservative Governor George Deukmejian.

Deukmejian, under the banner of ending former Governor Jerry Brown's "regulatory mania," has used the regulatory process to achieve administratively what the Capitol's Democratic majority would never approve legislatively. Gradually, he has imposed his pro-business ideology on a host of state agencies, systematically dismantling or undermining key protections that have ensured worker safety, preserved the coastline and forests, cracked down on political corruption and protected the public from unscrupulous businesses.

"It's a revolution...that has taken place quietly, slowly, incrementally, almost unobtrusively, but it's a revolution nevertheless," said Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, a Los Angeles Democrat.

"The result, especially in the areas of health, safety, environmental protection and consumer protection, is enormous. The protections aren't there, the people who enforce the laws are no longer employed, the agencies have been dismantled because there is no funding, and it's all happened very gradually.

"I'm alarmed," Roberti added. "I'm alarmed that he's getting away with it, and I'm alarmed that the public doesn't realize what's happening."

At the same time, critics say, Deukmejian has left virtually intact the morass of self-serving licensing regulations that businesses desire to limit competition and consumer choices. Although consumer advocates say the occupational licensing system is in desperate need of reform, the governor has not taken up what would seem to be a natural cause for a true regulatory reformer.

"The problem we have in California," said San Diego law professor Robert Fellmeth, "is that when (regulation) is justified, they're not doing it and when it's not justified, they're doing it."

The effort appears to go far beyond Deukmejian's campaign rhetoric about curbing government excess: The governor or his subordinates have neutered some of California's toughest watchdog agencies through a pattern of weakened,

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David M. Kutzmann, Teresa Watanabe and Arnold Hamilton are reporters for the San Jose Mercury News.

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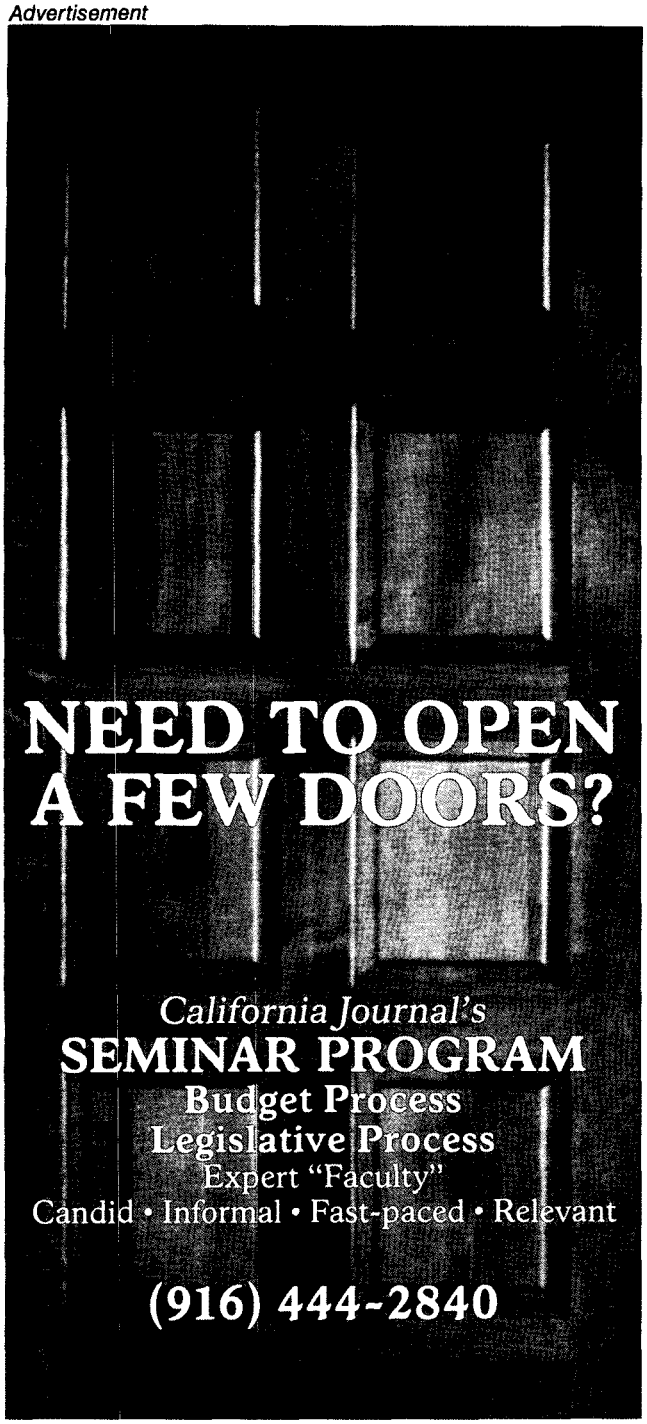

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stagnant or ineffective enforcement, pro-industry appointments and selectively tight budgets.

In some cases, Deukmejian has methodically chipped away at safeguards that were among the most stringently enforced of any in the nation. In other instances, he has quietly but effectively muzzled agencies meant to protect the public.

But the governor's top aides and confidants paint a decidedly different picture, vigorously denying that Deukmejian has undermined California's regulatory network or catered to special interests. Rather, they say, he has restored "balance" and "common sense" to a system that alienated and inhibited business during Brown's eight-year administration.

"Our biggest concern was the fact that the regulatory framework had gotten out of hand," said long-time confidant Steven Merksamer, who resigned last spring as Deukmejian's chief-of-staff to practice regulatory law. "All the Deukmejian administration was looking for was balance. I don't think you'll find any place an effort to roll back the clock or to roll back necessary regulation or useful regulation."

Indeed, conservatives like Glendora Senator H.L. Richardson believe the governor has moved far too timidly because he has managed to abolish only one regulatory agency, Cal-OSHA, and that action is under court review. Thus, the regulatory structures remain in place for a new governor to revive.

But for critics like Roberti, there is a host of disturbing evidence. Under Deukmejian:

- The Fair Political Practices Commission, once considered a national model for policing government corruption, has stifled enforcement efforts against state officials and all but abandoned its role as a champion of campaign finance reform.

Not until last June, when the *San Jose Mercury News* won a legal fight to gain access to the agency's investigative files, did the FPPC awaken from a two-and-a-half-year slumber in which fines plummeted while spending by candidates and by special interests seeking to influence legislation skyrocketed to unprecedented levels.

The commission imposed only $62,150 in fines in 1985 and 1986 combined, less than the $72,200 it had levied in 1984 alone. At the same time, money spent on lobbying legislators and contributed to legislative candidates jumped from more than $150 million to nearly $200 million.

After assessing only $33,500 in fines through the first seven months of 1987, the FPPC — reeling from criticism that it had gone soft — shifted into high gear, imposing a one-year record of $97,900 in fines, most against local officials.

- The California Coastal Commission, created by voters to protect the state's best-known natural resource, has seen its budget chopped by millions, while the GOP governor and Democratic legislative leaders have placed pro-development appointees on the panel.

Deukmejian has been hostile toward the coastal commission virtually since its inception. Asked in a 1982 interview if he would dismantle the commission, the governor-to-be responded succinctly: "Yes."

- Underground storage tanks continue to leak poisons into the ground throughout the state, jeopardizing crucial underground water supplies. Meanwhile, the governor, embroiled in a legislative impasse, has failed to provide enough money to water-quality control boards to plug the hundreds of leaking tanks, critics say.

At last count, there were 12,500 sites throughout California where tanks were believed to be leaking — 2500 more sites than a year ago. Of the new total, 75 percent involve leaks that have caused groundwater contamination.

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• Valuable North Coast watershed is being threatened by timber companies that fail to follow rules meant to prevent such abuse, or which are clear-cutting thousands of acres of historic redwood trees. At the same time, the California Department of Forestry's enforcement budget was virtually frozen during Deukmejian's first term.

According to campaign disclosure statements, CDF Director Gerald Partain accepted more than $42,000 from the logging industry as well as construction and real estate interests for an unsuccessful Republican Assembly bid a year before he was appointed to regulate commercial loggers in 1983.

• Employees of the Department of Fish and Game, one of the state's frontline environmental protection agencies, have complained there is insufficient staff and resources to do their job adequately. A confidential poll of employees conducted in early 1987 showed widespread concern about management of the agency.

• Cal-OSHA, once the nation's most stringent worker-safety program, has been axed, leaving workers more vulnerable to hundreds of poisonous chemicals, dangerous tools and other workplace hazards. Safety inspections of construction sites already have plummeted by half since federal investigators took over in July. Meanwhile, worker deaths have multiplied in the East Bay, from six deaths in the third quarter of 1984 to 18 deaths in 1987.

• The workers' compensation system has deteriorated so badly that the system's judges, in a rare move, testified in September against Deukmejian's choice of Barry Carmody to head the system. Low morale, huge case backlogs and stacks of unopened mail measuring in the feet plague the system and spell longer delays for injured workers waiting for relief checks to arrive.

Critics fear that the governor, who has repeatedly vetoed additional staff, is deliberately sabotaging the system in order to manufacture a political crisis that will allow anti-worker reforms.

• Abuses of farm workers are rising, with Imperial Valley laborers reporting the reappearance of the crippling short-handled hoe and lettuce knife. Members of the federally funded California Rural Legal Assistance program sharply criticize the governor for policies they charge have lowered farm wages, increased exposure to poisonous pesticides and created a climate of lawlessness and exploitation of laborers.

The Agricultural Labor Relations Board, created by the Legislature in 1975 to protect the rights of farm workers for the first time, has retreated dramatically in its enforcement effort. Reflecting their disillusionment with the board, the number of alleged abuses filed by workers has plunged from 1302 in 1979-80 to 264 in 1986-87. The number of charges dismissed by General Counsel David Stirling has jumped from 26 percent in 1979 to a high of 77 percent in 1985-86.

"Deukmejian, through Stirling, has shut that agency down and it's basically a fraud now," said Miles Locker, a former ALRB attorney hired by Stirling, who quit in disgust last December. "The law is not worth the paper it's written on. The abuse is constant and flagrant."

• The Public Employment Relations Board, which was created in 1976 to head off labor anarchy with a neutral mediation process, is coming under increasing attack for being biased. Two opinions by Deukmejian appointee Steve Porter challenge what the state Supreme Court has already recognized as a teacher's right to strike.

In addition, a political firestorm has developed over Deukmejian's latest appointee, Los Angeles schoolteacher Betty Cordoba. Cordoba, whose confirmation hearing was set for January, opposes the very law she is now supposed to uphold and has been described as "one of the most ideologically extreme appointments" in the nation by UCLA labor-law professor Reginald Alleyne.

"The new endangered species in the state is the California worker," said Los Angeles Democratic state Senator Bill Greene, who heads the Senate Industrial Relations Committee. They are facing "greater threats to their health and safety, they are seeing any and all benefits eroded, and they're seeing agencies which exist (to) implement laws designed for their protection sit on their hands."

• Banking, insurance and real-estate interests continue to benefit from lax state enforcement practices. For example, the state Auditor General's Office said the rates for nearly half the 700 insurance companies that issue property and casualty policies in California have never been checked by the state Department of Insurance to determine if they're excessive.

• And the consumers have been all but ignored as a variety of agencies meant to protect them instead shield the professionals and businesses they're supposed to monitor.

Officials seeking to pursue incompetent doctors, dentists, nurses, podiatrists, cosmetologists, contractors and the like — all of whom can cause Californians grave physical and financial harm — have been endlessly frustrated. Not only has Deukmejian failed to eliminate needless boards, but his finance officials have repeatedly vetoed staffing requests for tougher enforcement.

In addition, the governor has reversed the Consumer Affairs Department from being one of the most innovative and pro-active in the nation to a quiet and uninspired operation.

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Deukmejian's department has filed far fewer consumer lawsuits, published fewer educational pamphlets and been virtually bereft of the kind of provocative projects and research papers produced under the "think-tank" approach used by Brown officials.

"The watchdog agencies are understaffed and frustrated," said Assemblyman Rusty Areias, a Los Banos Democrat and former head of the Government Efficiency and Consumer Protection Committee. "As a result of the governor's hiring policies, there is less than a desirable level of inspections, enforcement and services throughout government."

Some regulatory abuses — particularly conflict-of-interest problems within the insurance and real-estate departments — were prevalent in the administrations of Jerry Brown, a Democrat, and Republican Governor Ronald Reagan. But at least Brown's administration performed a vast study on the regulatory system and, as a result, earmarked several useless boards for abolition while pouring millions of enforcement dollars into boards really needed to protect the public.

Deukmejian also takes credit for ordering a review of the state's regulations and cutting unnecessary rules. In an interview with the *San Jose Mercury News* last June, he took credit without hesitation for changing the course of regulatory activity in California.

"We have either modified or revised, or in some cases denied, about 26,000 rules and regulations since we've been in office," he said. "So we've been doing that in an effort to try to reduce unnecessary and overly burdensome types of regulation."

But, while talking reform, the governor has not articulated any clear-cut regulatory philosophy against which all agencies are justified. In other words, observers say, he has shown little inclination to address reform in a meaningful and concrete way.

"It's really unfair to say Deukmejian is screwing up the system, because that is not the case. He is not making it better," said Fellmeth, whose Center for Public Interest Law and *Regulatory Law Reporter* monitor all of the state's regulatory agencies.

"The real issue is not the malfeasance of someone who's trying to corrupt the system by destroying all environmental regulation. I think it is much more subtle and important. We have a system that needs aggressive reform, and he is not doing anything on the real issues of reform."

Added Fellmeth: "I think he's got a fuzzy philosophy."

Deukmejian's attitude toward watchdog agencies can be measured in another way. He has picked at least 30 people for key government and regulatory posts whose qualifications were questioned, who later had to resign, who had their nominations withdrawn or who were fired because of allegations of conflict of interest, mismanagement, misconduct or misrepresentation.

"Deukmejian's appointees are very political," said a GOP observer. "If you put in long, hard hours with some conservative group, you were in on whatever you wanted to be in on. But you had to put in your service to the party."

A good example is Darlene Ruiz, a member of the state Water Resources Control Board who served as a staff attorney for the conservative Pacific Legal Foundation before Deukmejian picked her in 1984. Before that, Ruiz was an attorney with Mobil Oil. Environmentalists cite Ruiz as one of the governor's most controversial appointments because of her husband's lobbying ties to the oil industry and her own alleged behind-the-scenes attempts to squelch or alter critical reports.

Some of the governor's supporters acknowledge that their orientation is more toward the industries they regulate, though they deny it is an outright bias.

"In the Brown administration, there was a tilt toward the environmentalists," said W. Don Maughan, chairman of the state Water Resources Control Board. "I believe now, there really ought to be fair consideration given to both sides."

Echoes Barbara Buck of the Western Growers Association: "With Jerry Brown, the door was closed. (Deukmejian) has made a tremendous difference in that he's willing to listen to our problems and concerns."

Partain, who replaced Brown-appointee David Pesonen as forestry director in 1983, says there has been a "relaxation of tensions" with loggers but denies that relations have gotten too cozy.

"I think they respected my judgment perhaps a little more than they did Dave's. Dave was a little more antagonistic toward them," said Partain, a conservative Republican like most of Deukmejian's appointees.

Some of the agencies Deukmejian has muzzled or squeezed were created in the 1960s or 1970s — during both the Reagan and Brown administrations — to act as a citizen counter-balance to the influence of big business, developers and big agriculture. The agencies gave some segments of the population, such as farm workers, a voice in government for the first time.

The driving force behind the governor's approach to regulation was his deeply held belief that government should get off industry's and agriculture's backs, his aides and strategists said. As a result, Deukmejian appointed members who reflected his own laissez-faire philosophy.

"Obviously, we weren't going to be looking for Jerry Brown clones to be managing the agencies," said Ken Khachigian, one of Deukmejian's most trusted confidants and speechwriters.

Nonetheless, his aides reject out-of-hand the notion that the governor's policies have harmed the public and challenge his detractors to offer specific proof.

"There's an obligation on the critics, if they have any attacks to make, to cite evidence of unfair decisions or unethical decisions," said Khachigian. "I don't think they can say that, 'Well, he's against us, or 'He's chopping down trees,' without citing chapter and verse.

"If they've got evidence, they should say it."

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Constructing a $44.3 billion state budget

By Bob Schmidt

Buried in the $44.3 billion 1988-89 state budget Governor George Deukmejian submitted to the Legislature January 7th is $15 for a new seventh-grade textbook for one of California's four million school children.

And $3 or the material needed to fill a pothole in some city street.

And $4,452,600 to cover the $37,105 salaries of the 120 members of the Senate and Assembly.

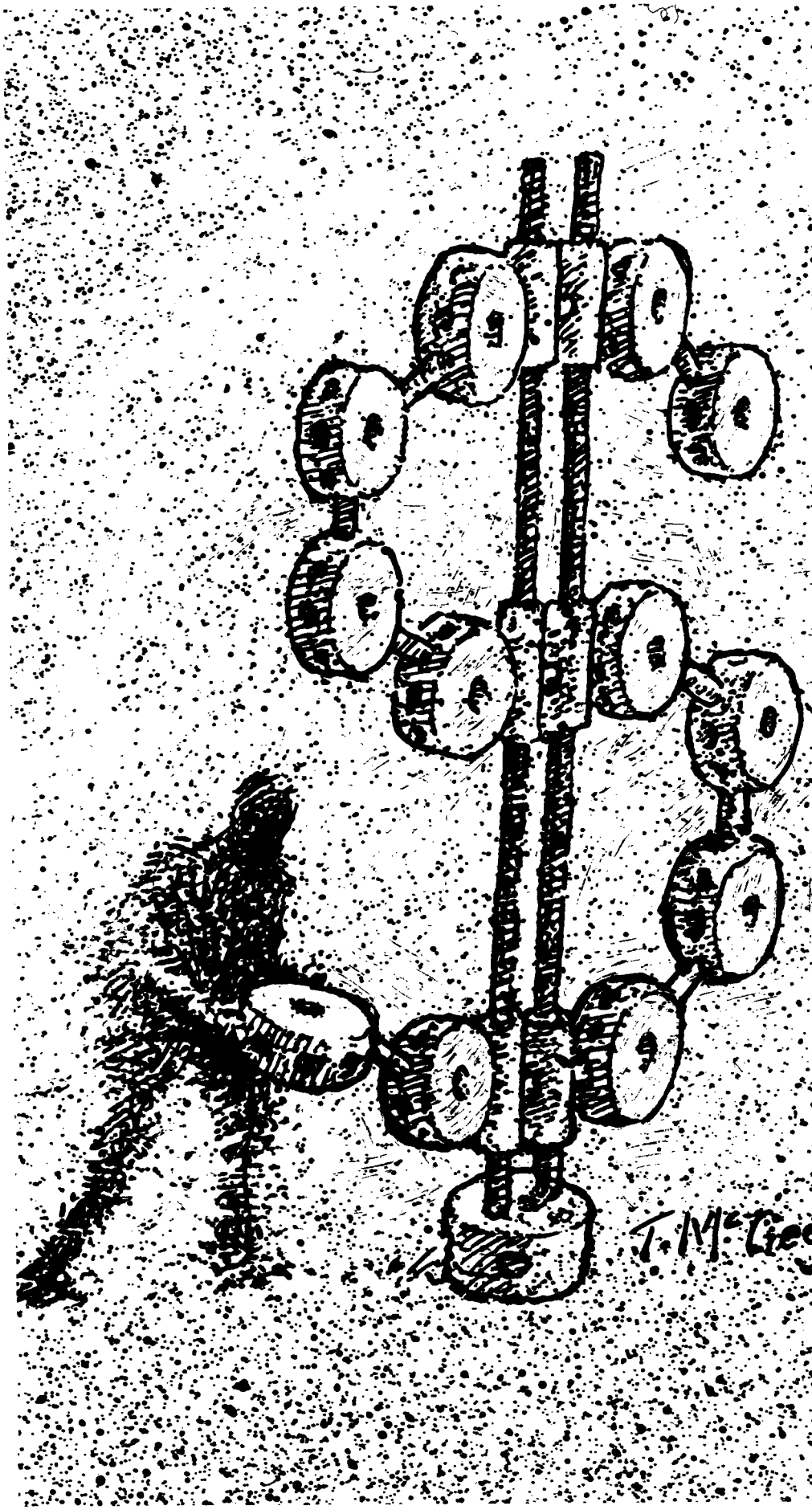
And $1.2 billion to cover the $17,000 for maintaining each of the nearly 80,000 inmates in the state's prisons.

And more.

There's money in the budget to pay the lifeguards at Huntington Beach State Beach and the Caltrans crew that repairs the median barrier damaged by a drunk driver on the I-80 freeway, and to cover most of each monthly welfare check distributed by California's 58 counties.

And more.

continued on next page



Bob Schmidt is Capitol bureau chief for the Long Beach Press Telegram.

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California's annual budget is big, complex, and crucially important to every county and city in the state, to every school district and flood-control district, to every business concern, to every resident, and every visitor, and, especially, to every poor and sick and disabled person who needs help. It provides the essential oil — money — needed for the machinery of government to function.

The state budget is an intimidating document, difficult to read, both literally and figuratively. The spending plan submitted by the governor to the Legislature each year is about three inches thick, and the print on the more than 1200 8.5-by-11-inch pages is very, very small. It divides state government into eight categories: legislative, judicial, and executive; state and consumer services; business, transportation, and housing; resources; health and welfare; youth and adult correctional; education; and general government.

Each category is divided further into its separate departments. In the resources section, for instance, are the budgets for the departments of Conservation, Forestry, Fish and Game, Boating and Waterways, Parks and Recreation, and Water Resources, plus the Air Resources Board, the California Con-

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,145 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. Regardless of the date shown, signatures should be submitted by April 6, 1988, for any measure to qualify for the November 1988 ballot.*

New in circulation:

CIGARETTE AND TOBACCO TAX — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Neil Andrews and Carolyn Martin of the Coalition for a Healthy California, that would impose on cigarette distributors an additional tax of one and one-quarter cents for each cigarette distributed. An equivalent tax would be imposed on distributors of products such as cigars and smoking tobacco that contain at least 50 percent tobacco. Proceeds from the tax would be used for research and treatment of tobacco-related diseases, education programs about tobacco, fire prevention and environmental conservation and damage restoration programs. Revenues would be exempt from the Gann appropriations limit. (May 2nd)

FIREARMS OWNERSHIP — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Carl Murphy of Lompoc and Bernadine Smith of Hanford, that would, among other provisions, bar the Legislature and public officials from prohibiting private ownership of or confiscating firearms or ammunition. The measure would not apply to felons or to persons declared mentally incompetent. (May 2nd)

CAL-OSHA — an initiative statute, sponsored by John Henning of the California Labor Federation, that would require that state funds be budgeted for the State Occupational Safety and Health Plan, or Cal-OSHA. The measure seeks to reverse action taken by Governor George Deukmejian in June 1987 when the governor removed funding for Cal-OSHA from the 1987-88 state budget. (May 2nd)

OATH OF OFFICE — an initiative constitutional amendment — sponsored by Tony Avila Sampson, Floyd Sampson, Rose Sampson, William Sampson and Howard Sampson of Petaluma — that would make taking an oath of office applicable to all public office holders and employees. Among other things, the measure provides for arrest by private citizens for violation of the oath. (May 9th)

TERMINAL ILLNESS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Robert Risley of Los Angeles, that would give adults with terminal illnesses the right to issue revocable written directions authorizing the ending of their lives by withholding life-sustaining procedures or by providing aid in dying by approved medical procedures. (May 9th)

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by James Schwander of People for Legal Justice, that would reduce the length and number of terms for judges; eliminate the requirement that judges and judicial candidates be lawyers; reduce the number of judges on the Judicial Council and add a majority of popularly-elected "laypersons" as members; remove the attorney general from the Commission on Judicial Appointments and add a majority of "laypersons" to it; and give the CJA rather than the governor the power to fill judicial vacancies. (May 16th)

HOUSING ASSISTANCE BONDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Marcus Brown Jr. of the California Coalition for Rural Housing, that would authorize $850 million in general obligation bonds for emergency shelters for the homeless, rehabilitation of homes and rental housing, first-time homebuyer assistance and rental housing for qualified persons. State general fund money would pay the principal and interest on the bonds. (May 16th)

AIDS REPORTING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton and Dr. Lawrence McNamee of the California Physicians for a Logical AIDS Response, that would require doctors, blood banks and others to report to local health officers any patients and blood donors whom they reasonably believe to have been infected by or have tested positive for AIDS. The measure would make it a felony for a person to knowingly donate blood after testing positive for AIDS or having an infection. (May 16th)

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES; 'TIED HOUSE' LAWS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Jeremiah Hallisey of San Francisco, that would repeal existing laws prohibiting manufacturers, wine growers, wholesalers, importers, distillers, bottlers, rectifiers and their agents from owning interests in liquor retailers' businesses. Among other provisions, the measure would also eliminate the prohibition on wholesalers owning retailer's on-sale licenses and lift the ban on manufacturers soliciting customers through a specific retailer. (May 16th)

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Ed Edelman, that would increase the tax on alcoholic beverages sold in California. Taxes on distilled spirits would rise from $2.00 to $7.59 a gallon; on beer, from $1.24 to $5.58 per barrell; and on wine from one cent to six cents per gallon. The revenues would be used for a variety of purposes, including alcohol and substance-abuse education and for victim restitution. (May 19th)

DISCLOSURE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Jim Rogers of Oakland, that would require a variety of specified information to consumers, voters and investors. Among the disclosures are advertisers' warnings regarding proper disposal of toxic household products, disclosures in nursing-home contracts regarding access to a state ombudsman and the record of violations of the facility, and disclosure of investments in South Africa by corporations selling stock in California. (May 23rd)

MOTOR VEHICLE INSURANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Richard Polanco of Los Angeles, that would limit accident claims for non-economic losses such as pain and suffering to 25 percent of the economic losses and ban contingency fees greater than 25 percent of non economic losses. These limits — which apply to accidents occuring between November 9, 1988, and December 31, 1992 — would not apply to survival, wrongful-death actions or actions involving serious injuries or disfigurement. The measure also sets other rates for motor vehicle insur-

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servation Corps, the Energy Resources Conservation and Development Commission, the California Waste Management Board, the State Lands Commission, the California Coastal Commission, and dozens of other entities.

And each is compartmentalized still further into numerous divisions. In Boating and Waterways is Boating Operations, and within that are Boating Safety, Boating Regulations, Boating Education, Boating Enforcement, Yacht and Ship Brokers Licensing, and Administration.

For each of the budget entities, the governor's plan recommends the spending of a certain amount of money and provides a brief narrative on how the money is to be used, including how many employees will be involved in the operation.

While the governor's budget will propose the spending of some $44 billion, only about $12 billion is earmarked for state operations. Almost all of the $32 billion balance is classified as "local assistance," and is sent along to counties, cities, schools, and special districts.

Furthermore, while the budget document is described as a compendium of the governor's spending proposals, he really has discretion over only

ance. (May 26th)

Continuing in circulation:

STATE INCOME TAX REBATE — an initiative statute, sponosred by Republican Assemblymen Tom McClintock of Newbury Park and Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia and Republican state Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield. (January 15th; October 1987 *CJ*)

APPROPRIATIONS LIMIT ADJUSTMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, also sponsored by a coalition of the League of Women Voters, California Teachers Association and Peace Officers Research Association of California. (January 21st; October 1987 *CJ*)

CAMPAIGN FINANCING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Thomas of Bakersfield and former Fair Political Practices Commission Chairman Dan Stanford of Solana Beach. (January 29th; October 1987 *CJ*)

APPROPRIATION LIMIT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul Gann of Charmichael. (February 1st; October 1987 *CJ*)

LIMITS ON TORT CLAIMS AND ATTORNEY FEES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gene Livingston and former Deukmejian cabinet official Kirk West of Sacramento. The same sponsors have another, similar measure in circulation but say they are not gathering signatures. (February 16th; November 1987 *CJ*)

DISABILITY BENEFITS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Kevin McCarthy of Santa Rosa. (March 7th; December 1987 *CJ*)

INSURANCE REGULATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Adam Burton of Los Angeles. (March 7th; December 1987 *CJ*)

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE POLICY — an initiative statute, sponsored by Russell Oertel of Claremont. (March 21st; December 1987 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton. (March 28th; December 1987 *CJ*)

NUCLEAR POWER — an initiative statute, sponsored by Ben Davis Jr. of Broderick. (March 28th; December 1987 *CJ*)

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Joseph Viducich of Beverly Hills. (April 18th; January 1988 *CJ*)

AIDS TESTING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block. (April 18th; January 1988 *CJ*)

HOUSING AND NUTRITIONAL ASSISTANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Board of Equalization Chairman Conway Collis. (April 21st; January 1988 *CJ*)

Petitions submitted:

STATE AND LOCAL APPROPRIATIONS LIMIT ADJUSTMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by a coalition of the League of Women Voters, California Teachers Association and Peace Officers Research Association of California. (October 1987 *CJ*)

TRANSPORTATION REVENUE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress. (September 1987 *CJ*)

CAMPAIGN FUNDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by independent state Senator Quentin Kopp of San Francisco, Democratic state Senator Joseph Montoya of Whittier and Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton, (October 1987 *CJ*)

Qualified for June 1988 ballot:

AIDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Brian Lantz and Khushro Ghandi of Livermore, that will, if adopted, declare AIDS an infectious, contagious amd communicable disease. It will require Department of Health Services personnel and all health officers to fulfill duties and obligations outlined in specific statutes and regulations to protect the public. This proposal is sponsored by proponents of, and is similar to, Proposition 64, which was defeated during the November 1986 election.

CAMPAIGN FUNDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Walter Gerken and by California Common Cause, that will, if approved by voters, set limits on contributions and loans that could be made or accepted for legislative offices and establish a Campaign Reform Fund to which taxpayers could designate up to $3 annually from income taxes paid. Some matching funds could be made from this Fund to qualified candidates.

WILDLIFE, COASTAL, AND PARK LAND CONSERVATION BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Californians for Parks & Wildlife, that will, if approved, authorize a general obligation bond issue of $776,000,000 for acquisition, development, rehabilitation, protection, or restoration of park, wildlife, coastal and natural lands in California.

Failed to qualify:

LEGISLATIVE OFFICES AND CAMPAIGN FUNDS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul McCauley of Los Angeles and Don Floyd of San Diego. (September 1987 *CJ*)

TORT CLAIMS, LIMITS ON ATTORNEY FEES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gene Livingston of Davis and former Deukmejian cabinet official Kirk West of Sacramento. (October 1987 *CJ*)

LAW ENFORCEMENT FUNDING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Secretary of State March Fong Eu. This is the so-called "Dimes against Crime" initiative. (September 1987 *CJ*)

PROPOSITIONS. YEAR ROUND VOTING. PROXY VOTING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Matt Dillon of Sacramento. (September 1987 *CJ*)

INCOME TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Paul McCauley of Los Angeles. (September 1987 *CJ*)

Source: secretary of state's office

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about one-fifth of the total budget. The balance is mandated by one statute or another.

The budget also provides a breakdown of where the money comes from that the document proposes to spend.

Boating and Waterways, for example, gets its money from five sources: the General Fund; the Special Account for Capital Outlay provided by, among other sources, revenues from the Long Beach Tidelands oil fields; the California Environmental License Plate Fund; the Harbors and Watercraft Revolving Fund, nourished primarily by license fees, and the Federal Trust Fund, apportioned each each year by Congress to help the states keep navigable waters navigable.

For the budget in its entirety the Department of Finance identifies five revenue sources:

- The General Fund, consisting primarily of income, sales, and bank and corporation taxes, and the interest earned by the state on its billions of dollars worth of money invested pending its use.
- Special Funds, consisting of motor vehicle funds, including license and registration fees, taxes on fuels, and portions of the sales, cigarette, and horse racing taxes.

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- Bond Funds — monies the state borrows by selling notes to investment groups. Voters at recent elections have authorized the state to borrow about $8 billion to finance the cleansing of our drinking water and the construction of prisons and jails; to help veterans finance the purchase of homes and farms; and to acquire and maintain beaches, parks, recreational, and historical properties, and centers for senior citizens, among other purposes.
- Federal funds, with about $17 billion expected this year. Some will come in the form of outright grants and some will require matching state and/or local funds.
- Non-governmental-cost funds, which include revenues from toll bridges, college housing, contributions to retirement plans, and other sources not putting money into the General Fund.

There are always some controversial proposals in any budget, and for such proposals that passage is usually rough and rocky. But considering the thousands of individual items the budget proposes to finance, not many changes will be made; and the spending total is not likely to be very different from the amount recommended by the governor.

The very first thing that happens after each member of the Legislature receives a bound copy of the budget is that the chairmen of the Senate Budget and Fiscal Review Committee and the Assembly Ways and Means Committee introduce the spending plan in their respective houses in the form of a bill.

The state Constitution requires that at least 30 days elapse between the time a bill is introduced and the time it can be considered by a committee, so hearings on the budget can't begin until February.

In fact, however, the two budget review committees will wait until Legislative Analyst Elizabeth Hill completes her exhaustive, point-by-point analysis of the plan and distributes her five-inch-thick evaluation, this year scheduled for around February 24th.

Meanwhile the Ways and Means Committee will have divided its 23 members into six subcommittees, five of which handle separate sections of the budget. The Senate Budget Committee will do the same thing with its 11 members.

The subcommittees are expected to complete their work and make recommendations to the full committees by early May, just after the governor's Finance Department releases the annual updating of its January revenue projections. The full committees, in turn, are supposed to vote on the total budget and send it, with their recommendations, to the floors of the two houses by May 15th.

The traditional next step is for one house — this year it is scheduled to be the Assembly — to vote on its version of the budget first and send it over to the other house, which then deletes all of the first house's language, substitutes its own, approves it, and sends it back.

The first house then rejects the other house's amendments, the parliamentary step necessary for the creation of the six-member, two-house conference committee given the task of finding compromises for all the spending proposals in dispute between the Senate and Assembly versions of the budget.

The rules agreed to by the two houses allow only items about which the Senate and Assembly disagree to be before the conference committee. If, for example, both houses have agreed that California State University, Long Beach should be appropriated $150,000 to buy widgets so widget majors will have something to study, that $150,000 item will not be before the conference committee and consequently cannot be changed.

Eventually, the committee will submit its compromise budget to the two houses. Each can vote either to approve it or reject it. No changes can be made. If either house rejects the compromise budget, a new conference committee is formed and another effort to work out the differences is begun.

The Constitution directs the Senate and Assembly to take their final vote on the budget and send it to the governor by June 15th.

Deukmejian then has 12 working days from the date he receives it to make any changes he sees fit to make. He can reduce or eliminate proposed expenditures, but he has no authority to make any increases.

If all goes as it is supposed to, the budget is signed into law before July 1st — the start of the new fiscal year covered by the spending plan. Technically, if no spending plan is in place, the state lacks authority to spend money. But there have been failures of legislatures and governors to reach timely agreement fairly frequently, yet state government manages to go on.

Last year the budget wasn't signed into law until July 7th; and in 1980, Republicans in the Senate held out until July 16th before providing enough votes to send the budget to the governor. Somehow, the state survived.

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

The right pitch

When political junkies talk about Ronald Reagan and campaign commercials in the same breath, they tend to babble on about the lush beauty of "It's Morning in America." That was the upbeat, flag-waving, full-color, richly-orchestrated theme of President Reagan's remarkably slick television advertising in his re-election campaign of 1984.

THE COMMERCIALS WERE PRAISED as the most stirring piece of political propaganda ever created — and panned as the most manipulative since the Nazi epic "Triumph of the Will."

As this year's crop of presidential candidates rolls out their initial TV messages in the early primary states, their media advisers are eagerly copying the themes and techniques of "It's Morning in America." Some of the 30-second spots are filled with artsy shots, swelling theme songs and sentimental images of Americana.

Instead of mimicking the fancy commercials that helped Reagan win a second term, however, the media wizards of '88 might want to take a look at the intentionally simple message that helped Reagan win the White House the first time around.

That commercial, repeateded endlessly in Reagan's campaign against Jimmy Carter in 1980, was a mini-documentary that recounted Reagan's purported successes as California governor. With all the glamour of an industrial training film, the spot showed him being sworn in as governor and later signing legislation in Sacramento as an announcer claimed Reagan had saved the state from financial ruin.

The commercial was so bland and artless that it caused constant complaints from many of Reagan's closest supporters and advisers during that campaign. Among those said to despise the Sacramento "documentary" was the ultimate supporter and adviser, Nancy Reagan.

The morning after Reagan beat Carter, then-campaign aide Ed Meese singled out the "California record" ad and its designer, California advertising executive Peter Dailey.

"A great deal of the credit goes to Peter Dailey for persevering with the 'California record' ad when members of the campaign staff, members of the press, everybody else, was questioning that ad," Meese told reporters.

A few months later, Dailey explained the rationale behind the deceptively bland commercial that helped make Reagan president.

The commercial needed to be "simple and direct" because "the last thing we wanted with Reagan was anything related to acting," his previous career. In consumer testing of fancier commercials, "the minute you started to get what we call 'production values' — as the execution improved — you lost credibility."

Reagan's supporters "wanted to see Reagan a little choked up, a lot of waving wheat in the background, the sun coming up in front of the Statue of Liberty," Dailey told me back in 1981. But "any of those things tended to emphasize his acting image rather than his image as an experienced governor."

Ironically, Dailey's description of what wouldn't work in '80 — waving wheat and all — sounded like the script for the commercials of '84. The lesson for campaign managers may be simple: There is no such thing as a "good" campaign commercial in the abstract. The challenge is to find the particular message best suited to the particular candidate — in a particular campaign.

The lesson for the press and public in this campaign year may be equally simple: Don't trust any campaign commercials, no matter how straightforward they may seem.

Even today, Reagan's critics blame the press for not attempting closer scrutiny of his record as California governor during the 1980 campaign. It is argued that Reagan would not have been elected president if the American people only knew that he had permitted tax increases in California despite his anti-tax rhetoric and that his boasts of state welfare reform were fanciful at best.

As presidential scholar James David Barber recently argued, the press was particularly neglectful in failing to debunk Reagan's record during the primary season of 1980, before he became his party's nominee. "An evident reason for the press' generally benign neglect of Reagan's presidential inadequacy," Barber maintained, "was that few journalists believed Reagan's candidacy could possibly succeed."

As Barber wrote in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, reporters have a misplaced faith that the ordeal of modern campaigning can adequately test a candidate's character and talents:

"These days, a presidential campaign tests the candidate's capacity to endure the physical stress of extended travel, to deliver the same speech over and over again, to beg money from rich donors, to spin out television commercials, to announce detailed plans for government action in an unknown, yet-to-come political context, to impress crowds of recruited teenagers, and, what is perhaps most important, to puff up one's pictorial image for television news. What is tested, then, is not the candidate's actual lifetime performance — the factual historical record — held up against the requirements of the presidential job, but rather his capacity to prance along the campaign trail, pretending, with the help of highly paid media coaches, to be what he is not. The campaign is a basket-shooting contest to pick the best poker player."

BY THE TIME REAGAN WAS THE Republican nominee, voters were so eager to be rid of incumbent Carter that all they needed was some slight reassurance that Reagan, that pleasantly familiar face from TV and the movies, also could be credible as a chief executive.

That's where the "California record" commercial came in. Endlessly repeated on the air, with its matter-of-fact style, it gave that aura of credibility to the ex-actor who was about to become president.

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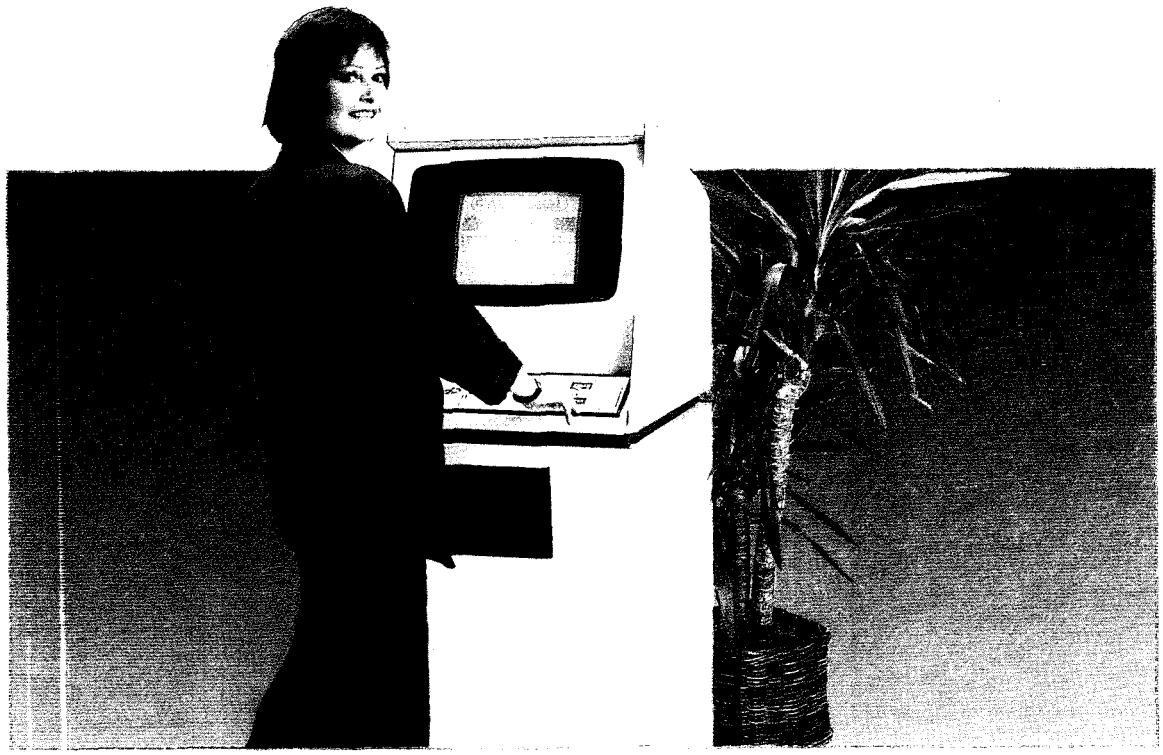

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